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KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA

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To my Teacher

Prof. FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.

PREFACE

This short monograph on the Origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara is the result of my study of the subject during the last six months. It is practically a reprint of two articles which I contributed to the *Madras Christian College Magazine* of 1929-30. I am grateful to the Editor, Dr. A. S. Woodburne, M.A., PH.D. for kindly allowing me to re-print them in book-form. I take this opportunity of offering my thanks to Mahāmahōpādhyāya S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri Avl., M.A. for having kindly permitted me to borrow a Kanarese manuscript from the Oriental Manuscripts Library, on which my first essay, 'Kampili', is based. The second essay, 'Vijayanagara', sums up the result of a series of discussions which I had with my esteemed friend Mr. M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma, whose profound knowledge of South Indian epigraphy enabled me to solve several difficult problems. In fact, the second essay may be truly said to be the result of our joint labours. I tender my hearty thanks to him for having unreservedly placed at my disposal whatever information he possessed on the subject.

PURASAWALKAM }
December 4, 1929 }

N. V. R.

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Kampili

I

THE Muhammadan chroniclers such as Ibn Batuta and Barni mention the Kingdom of Kampili in connection with the southern conquests of Muhammad bin Tughlak, the mad Sultan of Delhi. What they tell us regarding this kingdom is not much.

(1) Ibn Batuta says :

Sultan Tughlik had a nephew, son of his sister, named Bahau-d-din Gushtasp, whom he made the governor of a province. This man was a brave warrior, a hero ; and when his uncle was dead he refused to give his oath to the late Sultan's son and successor. The Sultan sent a force against him . . . there was a fierce battle, . . . and the Sultan's troops gained a victory. Bahau-d-din fled to one of the Hindu princes, called the Rai of Kambila. . . This prince had territories situated among inaccessible mountains and was one of the chief princes of the infidels.

'When Bahau-d-din made his escape to this prince, he was pursued by the soldiers of the Sultan of India, who surrounded the *rai's* territories. The infidel saw his danger, for his stores of grain were exhausted and his great fear was that the enemy would carry off his (Bahau-d-din's) person by force . . . ' He sent some one to conduct him thither (to the kingdom of a neighbouring Hindu prince). Then he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lighted. Then he burned his furniture, and to his wives and daughters, he said 'I am going to die, and such of you as prefer it do the same.' Then it was seen that each one of these women washed herself, rubbed her body with sandal-wood, kissed the ground before the *rai* of Kambila, and threw herself upon the pile. All perished. The wives of his nobles, ministers and chief men imitated them, and other women also did the same.

The *rai*, in his turn, washed, rubbed himself with sandal, and took his arms, but did not put on his breastplate. Those of his men who resolved to die with him followed his example. They sallied forth to meet the troops of the Sultan, and fought till every one of them fell dead. The town was taken, its inhabitants were made prisoners, and eleven of the sons of the *rai* were made prisoners, and carried to the Sultan who made them all Mussalmans. The Sultan made them *amirs*, and treated them with great honour, as much for their illustrious birth as in admiration of the conduct of their father.¹

(2) Barni mentions Kampila as one of the countries which Muhammad bin Tughlak had conquered.

In the course of twenty-seven years, a complete *karn*, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords made him prevail over the dominions of several kings, and brought the people of many countries under his rule in Hindustan, Gujerat, Malwah, the Mahratta (country), Tilang, Kampila Dhur-Samundar, Ma'bar, Laknauti, Sat-ganw (Chittagong), Sunar-ganw, and Tirhut.²

Again, speaking of the rebellions against Sultan Muhammad in the South, he says :

About the same time one of the relations of Kanyá Nájk, whom the Sultan sent to Kambila, apostatized from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambila also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus.³

(3) According to Ferishta :

'Baha-ood-Deen, the king's nephew, a nobleman of high reputation, known more generally by his original name, Koorshasip, possessed a government in the Deccan called Sagur. He began to turn his thoughts towards the throne, and gained over many of the nobles of his principality to his interest. Through the influence of these chiefs and by the great riches he had acquired, the power

¹ ELIOT and DOWSON : *History of India*, III, pp. 614-15.

² ELIOT and DOWSON : *History of India*, III, p. 236.

³ ELIOT and DOWSON : *History of India*, III, pp. 245-6.

of Koorshasip became so formidable that he attacked some chiefs who continued firm in their allegiance to the king, and obliged them to take refuge in the fort of Mando. The king having intelligence of this report, commanded Khwaja Jehan with many other officers, and the whole of Guzerat forces, to chastise the rebel chief. When the king's army arrived before Dewgur, they found the troops of Koorshasip drawn up in order of battle to receive them. After a gallant contest, the rebel chieftain was defeated, owing to the defection of Khizr Bahram, one of his principal officers, who, with his whole division, went over to the royal army during the engagement. Koorshasip fled to Sagur; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Kampila, in the Carnatic, and took refuge in the dominions of the raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Muhammad Tughluk, in the meantime took the field, and arriving soon after at Dewgur, sent from thence Khwaja Jehan with a force against Koorshasip and the Raja of Kampila. The royalists were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgur, Khwaja Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and gained a victory, in which the Raja of Kampila was made a prisoner, but Koorshasip fled to the court of the Bilal Dew, who, fearing to draw the same misfortune upon himself as the neighbouring raja had done, seized Koorshasip, and sent him bound to Khwaja Jehan, and at the same time, acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Delhi.¹

(4) In addition to the references contained in the writings of the Muhammadan Chroniclers, we have an account of the Muhammadan conquest of the kingdom of Nagundym from the pen of the Portuguese traveller and merchant Nuniz. It has been shown by Sewell that Nagundym (Ānegundi) of Nuniz is the same as the kingdom of Kampili of the Muhammadan writers, and that Togao Mamede is Muhammad Tughlak.² The following is his description of the fall of Nagundym.

And, determining to make war on the King of Bisnaga, and to reduce him under his rule, he (Muhammad Tughlak) passed out of the lands which he had newly gained, entering into those of the King of Bisnaga, which at that time were many . . . he passed the river Duree, which forms the boundary of the territories of Ballagate, and those of the King of Bisnaga, which river he passed in basket-boats without finding anyone to oppose the passage. . . . And from the river which that king of Delly passed in basket-boats to that city (Nagundym) was twenty-five leagues, all being open country (campos); and in them, it seemed good to him to pitch his camp, so that his people might drink of the water in the plain (campos) along the length of the river. At that time, there was great drought by reason of the summer season, and the waters of the few little lakes that were in the plain would not suffice for ten days for his troops, horses and elephants, without drying up; and for that reason he halted some days by the banks of that river, till rain fell in the fields and lakes, enough for such a large army as he had brought with him.

And when the time came, he raised his camp and brought his array to a halt in sight of that city of Nagundym.

And the King of Bisnaga, seeing his great power, and how many troops he had brought with him, determined to abandon the city. . . . And he fled for shelter to a fortress called Crynamata, which was by the bank of the river, and which contained much provision and water; but not enough for the sustenance of so many people as he had with him, as many as fifty thousand men. Therefore the King chose five thousand men with their property and took refuge in the fortress; and for the rest he bade them betake themselves to another fortress of his in another part of his Kingdom.

And being sheltered in the fortress, after he had taken order about his provisions, he was beset on all sides by the King of the people of Delly. . . . over which siege little time was spent, because the people that were inside the fortress were numerous, and in a little space had consumed their provisions.

Then the King of Bisnaga, seeing the determination of the soldiers of the King of Delly that they would never leave the place without making an end of those whom he had with him in the fortress, made a speech to them all, laying before them the destruction that the King of the troops of Delly had caused in his own kingdoms. . . . Then he said that already there remained to him of his kingdom and lordship, nothing but that fortress, and the people that were in it, and so he asked them to arm themselves, and die with him in battle, giving their lives to the enemy who deprived them of all their lands.

All of them were very content, and glad at this, and in a short space were all armed. . . . At this time they were all standing in a large open space which was before the citadel, and there by the hand of the king were slain over fifty of his wives, and some sons and little daughters; and the same was done with their own hands by all who had wives and sons that could not fight.

¹ BRIGG'S *Ferishta*, Vol. I, pp. 418-419.

² SEWELL. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 11.

When these nuptial feasts, so abhorred of all, were fulfilled, they opened the gates of the fortress, and their enemies forthwith entered, and slew all of them except six old men who withdrew to a house. These were made captive and were taken before the King (of Delhi), and the King asked them who they were and how they had escaped, and they told him who they were; at which the King greatly rejoiced, because one of them was the minister of the kingdom, and another the treasurer, and the others were leading officers in it. . . .

After the death of the (Hindu) King, he (the Sultan) stayed in that fortress for two years. . . . the King sent to collect his people, leaving in this fortress, the strongest in the Kingdom, abundant provisions for its defence in all circumstances; and he left for captain and governor of the Kingdom Enybiquy Melly, a Moor, and with him he left many troops. . . .

The king having departed to his own kingdom . . . those who had escaped to the mountains, with others who, against their will through fear had taken oaths of fealty for their towns and villages, rose against the Captain Meliquy Neby, and came to besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying the taxes that had been forced on them. And Meliquy Niby . . . sent quickly to him (the Sultan) to tell him how the land was risen against him, and every one was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side; and that His Highness should decide what he thought best to be done in such case . . . All the Councillors decided that the King should command the presence of the six men whom he held captive, and that he should learn from them who was at that time the nearest of kin, or in any way related to the Kings of Bisnaga; and this questioning done, no one was found to whom by right the Kingdom could come, save to one of the six whom he held captive, and this one he who at the time of the destruction of Bisnaga had been minister of the Kingdom. He was not related by blood to the kings, but only was the principal judge; but (it seemed) good that His Highness should give the Kingdom to that one. And this advice pleased the King and them all.

At once the six captives were released, and set at liberty, and many kindnesses and honours were done them, and the governor was raised to be king and the treasurer to be governor . . . And when the Captain Meliquy Niby became aware of this, he was very pleased and contented, and delivered up to him (the new King Deorão) the fortress and Kingdom as the King his lord had commanded; and making himself ready with all speed he departed, leaving the land to its proper owner.¹

What we learn from the above extracts regarding the Kingdom of Kampili is not much. We are informed only of the circumstances under which the Kingdom was destroyed by the Muhammadans. The protection which the Rāya of Kampili, offered to Baháu-d-din the rebellious cousin of Muhammad Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi led to the outbreak of war between the two states. The war lasted at least for one year during the course of which no less than three expeditions were sent against the Rāya. On the first two occasions, the Muhammadan troops were defeated, but on the third, they were completely successful. The Rāya who was defeated was forced to take refuge under the strong walls of the fortress of Ānegondi; but as the place could not be held owing to the shortage of provisions, he was obliged to despatch Baháu-d-din to the Court of Balāla Dēva, king of Dwara-samudra; and abandoning Ānegondi he repaired with a body of 5,000 selected troops to Crynamata, the strongest fortress in the kingdom. The Sultan's forces pursued him thither; and once again, he had to shut himself within a stronghold, surrounded by the forces of the enemy. However, when he discovered that the fall of Crynamata was inevitable, he put to death his wives and children, and persuaded his followers to do the same. Then, sallying out of the citadel, they rushed upon the besiegers and perished upon their swords.

According to one account, eleven sons of the Rāya who survived their fellows were taken prisoners. However, they were released when they embraced Islam, and entertained in the service of the Sultan. But, according to another account, those that survived the Rāya were only old men. One of them was the minister,

¹ SEWELL: *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 292-99.

another the treasurer, and others the officers of the Râya. These were kept under custody.

Crynamata became a provincial city ; and Meliquy Niby was appointed as its governor with a strong garrison to support his authority ; but soon Meliquy Niby discovered that the whole country was up in arms against him, and that he had little, or no power at all. He communicated the information to his master at Delhi, who, accepting the advice of his councillors, set at liberty the six men whom he held captive, and appointed the minister, who, by the way, was a relation of Kanhaya Nâyak of Warrangal, as the king of Ānegondi, and made the treasurer his minister. And after taking an oath of allegiance from them, sent them to their kingdom with a body-guard.

The new king whose name was Deorao arrived at the fortress of Crynamata. Meliquy Niby, handing him over the charge, departed speedily to the court of his master at Delhi. Deorao apostatized from Islam, and asserted his independence. The land of Kampili was lost to the Muhammadans.

II

This is all the information that can be gleaned from the Muhammadan chroniclers and the Portuguese writers, regarding the history of Kampili. They mention the kingdom only incidentally in connection with the Muhammadan conquest of South India ; but they have nothing to tell us concerning its origin and growth ; nor do they throw any clear light on the nature of the connection between the fall of Kampili and the rise of Vijayanagar. No information has been gathered so far from the Hindu sources. In fact, the Vernacular literature supplies us with a good deal of valuable historical information which demands careful investigation. We are fortunate enough to discover a few Kanarese, and Telugu manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library which describe the events connected with the rise and the fall of the kingdom of Kampili. ¹ They are :

- (1) Kumāra Rāmana Charite by Gangayya.
- (2) Baḷḷāla Rāyana Yuddha or Paradāra Sōdara Rāmanāthana Kathe by a poet called Nanjuṇḍa.
- (3) The Kaifiyat of Kampili.
- (4) The Kaifiyat of the Bhaṭṭar.

All these works are written in Kanarese ; they contain much legendary and romantic material which is not of great interest to a student of political history. The Baḷḷāla Rāyana Yuddha (2) is the most satisfactory document, as it gives us a more sober account of the events, than either the work of Gangayya, or the Kaifiyat of Kampili. The author Nanjuṇḍa, son of Rāma, and grandson of Mādhava was a scion

¹ I take this opportunity of tendering my hearty thanks to Mahāmahōpādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Śāstri Avl., M.A. the curator of the Madras Govt. Or. MSS Library for having kindly lent me one of the MSS of the Library for study. I am also thankful to my friend Mr. K. Narasinga Rao, B.A., L.T., Vidwan, lecturer in Kanarese in the Madras Christian College for having helped me in studying some Kanarese MSS.

of the family of Yadu. The Kaifiyat of the Bhaṭṭar gives us a plain, unadorned description of facts pertaining to the history of Kumāra Rāma. The other two works are less trustworthy, and a certain amount of caution is necessary in making use of them.

In addition to these, we have a Telugu ballad called the Kumāra Rāmuni Katha which narrates the story of Kumāra Rāma, the son of Kumbhīṇi Rāya, the king of Ānegondi. The subject matter of this ballad is the same as that of the Kanarese works mentioned above; but its value as an historical document is very much inferior to theirs. Nevertheless it gives us useful information regarding certain topics.

There are only a few inscriptions belonging to the kings of Kampili. Although they do not increase the stock of our knowledge, they establish beyond the shadow of a doubt that the dynasty of which the Rāya of Kampili and his son were members is historical. We are confident that, when the epigraphical survey of the region surrounding Kampili is completed, more inscriptions will be brought to light which will help us to study the subject more systematically.

III

The founder of the principality of Kampili was one Mummaḍi Singa, a member of one of the feudatory families of Male Nāḍu.¹ Having been worsted in a struggle with his kinsmen, probably for the possession of the fief, he had to run away from his native home. He repaired to the city of Dêvagiri, where he entered the service of the Yādava king, Rāma Dêva Rāya and served him faithfully for a long time. The discovery of a treasure trove made him wealthy; and he invited his friends and relations to go to Dêvagiri, and share with him his good fortune. On one occasion, while hunting, he saved the life of the king who was attacked by a ferocious man-eater. The king bestowed, as a mark of his gratitude, many favours upon him. Consequently, Mummaḍi Singa acquired much power and influence at court.

Meanwhile, a son was born to him by the grace of Sômêśvara, the god of Kampili; and he gave the boy, the name of Kampila Rāya, one of the names by which the deity of Kampili was known. The boy grew up, and Mummaḍi Singa gave him the education that was suitable for the son of a nobleman of the day. When he attained manhood, he was married to Harihara or Ariyāla Dêvi, the daughter of Gujjala Kaṭṭi Nāyaka, one of the feudatories Rāma Dêva Rāya.

Then came the invasion of the Muhammadans from the north. The Sultan of Delhi sent a vast army under the command of his general Nemi or Nemi Mulk to subdue the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan and South India. Nemi laid siege to the fortress of Dêvagiri and captured it. King Rāma Dêva was taken prisoner, and

¹ ಮಲೆಬ್ರಾಂತ್ ದೇಶದನಾಡೆ ದಳವಾರನು ಬಡ್ಲದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಸಿಂಗ
ಗಂಗಯ್ಯ ಕು. ರಾ. ಚ. || ಸಂಧಿ 1-ಪ 7 ||

sent to Delhi. He then proceeded to the south of the peninsula and reached the ocean at Rāmēśvaram where he washed his bloody sword in its waters. Having thus accomplished his mission, he reached, the city of Madura, on his way to Delhi, where he overthrew the authority of the rajah, and established a Muhammadan garrison to uphold the authority of his master. Then he continued his journey to Delhi.¹

When the Muhammadan army retired from the Deccan, Mummaḍi Singa who was much grieved by the imprisonment of his master Rāma Dēva Rāya, left Dēvagiri, and moved southwards with all his followers. He entered the Malepanthedēsa or Maleprānteya nāḍi, and reached a place called 'Hāneya Dere' where he built residences for himself and his followers.² He then paid a visit to the powerful chief of Rāyadurg called Malla whom he pleased by offering valuable presents. Malla made him the *daḷavay* of his old fief, to which he added twenty more villages, and bade him farewell. Mummaḍi Singa, greatly satisfied with the success of his mission, returned to 'Hāneya Dere' where he lived in peace for sometime.

Meanwhile, Rāma Dēva Rāya breathed his last. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of the kingdom, the powerful Malli Dēva, the son of a sister of Rāma Dēva usurped the throne. Mummaḍi Singa, did not recognize the authority of the usurper; and, placing himself at the head of several discontented nobles, he attacked Malli Dēva and slew him in a battle. Thenceforward, he began to rule his principality as an independent chief.

Singa Nayaka died after governing his principality for a few years. Kampila or Kampili Rāya, his son, was crowned king by his minister, Baichappa. Soon after his coronation, by the grace of the god of Jaṭangi Rāmēśvara. Harihara Dēvi his queen-regnant gave birth to a son whom Kampila named Rāmanātha after the god. The prince was brought up with great care and affection by his parents.

On one occasion, Kampila went a-hunting in the forests in the neighbourhood of his capital. After hunting in several places he entered at last the forest of the Hosamale Durga, and let loose his dogs upon a hare which rose up before him.

¹ ದೇವಗಿರಿಯ ದೇವರಾಯನಬಿಟ್ಟ ದೇವರಾಯನ ಪಿಡಿತಂದೂ
ಅವರಸುರಿತಾಲಗಿತ್ತ ನೇಮಿಯದಾಳಿಗಾವನಿ ದಿರುಭೂಮಿಯೊಳು
ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರಕ್ಕೆ ತೆರಳಿಬಂದು ಮಧುರೆಯ ಭೂಮಿಾಶ್ವರನನು ಪಿಡಿದೂ
ಆ ಮಧುರೆಯೊಳು ಶಾಣೆಯನಿಕ್ಕಿದ ನಾನೇಮಿ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಿಂದ
ರಣದಂಬಟನ ನೇಳೆಂಟುವರು ಮುತ್ತಿರಣ ಹಮ್ಮಿರಭೂವರನಾ
ಅಣೆಯೊಳ ಗಮರನಗರಿಯ ನೈದಿಸಿದ ನೇಮಿಗಣೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಕೇಸರಿಗೆ
ಭವ್ಯವದೇಶದ ರಾಯರಲ್ಲ ರಕ್ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಕಪ್ಪವಕೊಂಡುರಾಯನಿಗೆ
ಒಪ್ಪಿಸುವತಿಖಲನೇಮಿಪಾನಗೆ ಸರಿಯಪ್ಪ ನೇನಾನಿಗಳಂಟಿ

ನಂಜುಂಡ ಬಿ. ರಾ. ಯು ಸಂ. 8. ಪ 16-19.

² ಘನಮಲೆಪಂಕ್ತಿ ದೇಶಗಲಾವಿನಯದಿಪೋವುದೇವೇನೆಂದು ತನ್ನಯ
ಅನುಜ್ಞೆಗಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದನು
ಬಂದು ಅಕ್ಷಣ ಮಲೆಪಂಕ್ತಿ ದೇಶವಹೊಕ್ಕು ನಿಂದನು ಹಾನೆಯ ದೇರೆಯಾ
ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಗೂಳಿಯ ತಗಸಿ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿಸಿಂಗನು ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಮನೆಗಳ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದಾ
ಗಂಗಯ್ಯ ಕು. ರಾ. ಚ. ಸಂ. 1. ಪ 21, 22.

Instead of attempting to run away from the dogs, it turned on them, and bit them horribly. The king who witnessed the encounter between the hare and his hounds was so astonished at the unnatural behaviour of the former that he summoned his ministers and learned men and asked them to explain the meaning of it all. They attributed the unusual conduct of the hare to its environment, and advised the king to build a fortress there, which they said, an enemy could never take. The king examined the place, and, being satisfied with its strategic importance, summoned 12,000 masons, and ordered them to construct a fortress at a place called Mūrāneya Sandhi (the meeting place of three elephants), very near the river Tungabhadra.¹ When the construction of the fort was completed, he named it Hosamael Durga, and transferred the headquarters of his government to that place. Having made it the chief place of his residence, he commanded all his nobles to do the same.

It was probably the possession of the impregnable fortress that roused the ambition of Kampila to make himself the overlord of the neighbouring chiefs. He was considerably assisted in his work by his youthful son Rāma who had already won distinction as a warrior by his remarkable feats of arms. Baichappa was not only a wise minister but a brave soldier and capable commander. Being ably assisted by the prince and the minister, he found it easy to subdue his neighbours. At first, he captured Tōragal, Bādāmi, Mudkal, and Hānagal. These conquests must have brought the whole of the doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra under his control. Next, the province of Kandanūlu nāḍu was subjugated. Then, the strong fortresses of Nidugal, and Penugonḍa submitted. The extent of the new principality as a result of these conquests, considerably widened, and it spread along both the banks of the Tungabhadra.

The policy of aggression and conquest which Kampila had adopted aroused the suspicion of Jagatāpi Rāya, the lord of Gutti. In course of a few months, a war broke out between the two kingdoms, in which Jagatāpi was defeated, and taken prisoner by prince Rāma. He was taken to Kummaṭa where Kampila was then staying; but, as he agreed to pay tribute, he was soon set at liberty, and allowed to return to his capital. By this series of conquests Kampila became so powerful as

1 ಭರದಿಂದ ದಾಂಟಿ ಹೊಸಮಲೆಯ ಹೆಬ್ಬುಲಿಗಳ ಕುಶಲಕಂಪಿಲ ರಾಯನಡೆದಾ
ಹೊಕ್ಕರು ಹೊಸಮಲೆ ದುರ್ಗದ ಖಯಲನು ಇಕ್ಕಲದಲಿಬೇಡಿಯೊಡಿ
ಘಕ್ಕನೆ ಮೊಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವಾನಗಳನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಅಕ್ಕರದಿಂದಲಿ ಬೆನ್ನ ಹತ್ತಿದವು
ತಿರುಗಿ ಮೊಯದಮೊಲ ನಾಯನು ಅಟ್ಟಲು ಭರದಿಂದರಾಯ ಬೆರಗಾದ
ಕರೆದು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಕೇಳಲು ಹರುಷದಿಂದಾ ನುಡಿದರು
ಇದಾಗಾಣೆ ಅಪ್ಪವಿಕ್ಕಿನ ರಾಯರ ಎದೆಶೂಲ ಈ ದುರ್ಗಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯು ಬಿಡು
ಈ ದುರ್ಗಕಲಿಗಳ ನೆರೆವನೆ ಎನಿವುದು ಈ ದುರ್ಗ ಕೋರಿಗಂಕುಶವು
ಕೇಳಿಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯ ಪಾಳೆಯಬಿಡಿಸಿದ ಖಹಳ ಪರಿಯಲಿ ಗೂಡಿಕೊಯ್ದು |
ವಿಳಾಡಿ ಮಂತ್ರಿ ಗುರುಸಹಿತ ದುರ್ಗವನೊಡಿ ಪಾಳೆಯ ಯಿಕ್ಕಿನಡದನೊ
ಸುರಿತಾಳೆ ಬಳಸಿನೊಡಿದ ರಾಯದುರ್ಗವ ಕತ್ತರಿಸುತ್ತ ಕಣಿವೆಯನು ||
ಎತ್ತನೊಡಲು ಜಿರಿಗುಂಡು ಬಂಡೆಗಳಿಂದ ಚಿತ್ರವಾ ಹೊಸದುರ್ಗವೆನಿಸಿ

to excite the jealousy of his neighbours Vīra Ballāla, the king of Dwarasamudra, and Pratāparudra, the king of Warrangal.

The rivalry of Vīra Ballāla and Kampila soon led to the outbreak of a war between them. A detachment of the Hoyasala army raided certain places belonging to Kampila on the frontier. The people of the locality went to Kummaṭa, and complained against the Hoyasala king to prince Rāma, who, as yuvarāja, was governing the kingdom, on behalf of his father. Rāma, at first, obtained the permission of his father, to carry on a counter raid, and captured an important frontier fortress which belonged to Vīra Ballāla. On hearing the fall of the fortress Ballāla began to prepare for an invasion of the kingdom of Kampila. He summoned Narasingaṇṇa Daṇṇayaka, his commander-in-chief, and asked him to summon all his forces to march against the enemy's country. Soldiers from Coorg, Maḷayāla, and Tiguḷa countries, besides a few squadrons of Muhammadan cavalry assembled at the Hoyasala capital. Then, the army, accompanied by Vīra Ballāla, and his son, moved towards the eastern frontier, anticipating an easy victory.

The news of the Hoyasala invasion reached Kummaṭa, and the Rāya, acting on the advice of Kumāra Rāma, decided to meet the invader on the frontier. The forces of Kampila assembled at Anegondi,¹ which stood on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra. When he completed his preparations, he marched at the head of his army against the enemy. He was accompanied by his foster son, Kātanna, Kumāra Rāma, and his son-in-law Sangama. Having crossed the Bâgûr pass, Kampila pitched his tents in front of the enemy's camp.

Both sides prepared themselves for a battle on the next day. Kātanna who was appointed as the commander of Kampila's forces, drew up his troops in battle order, and Narasingaṇṇa Daṇṇayaka did the same on his side. The battle raged fiercely for many hours. At last, the Hoyasala army, which was defeated with great slaughter, fled in panic. Then, it occurred to Vīra-Ballāla that if they (the Hindu princes) continued to fight among themselves, the Sultan would be able to complete the conquest of the whole country. Therefore, he sued for peace. Kampila, was also willing to come to an understanding with Ballāla. As it was agreed that a peace should be concluded, fighting ceased completely. Sôma

ಕರಸಿದ ಹನ್ನೆರಡು ಸಾವಿರಕಾಮಾಟ ಸರಿಗುಂಡುಗಳನ್ನು ಒಡೆಕೊಯ್ದು ।

ಫರಫರದಲಿ ಸೇಳುಗಲ್ಲು ಕೋಟಿಯುಕಟ್ಟಿ ಮೆರೆವಕೊತ್ತೆವ ಹೂಡಿದರೂ

ಗಂಗಯ್ಯ ಸಂ. 3, ಪ 36, 40-44, 48.

ಮೂರಾನೆ ಸಂಧಿಯಹೋಗಿ ಮಲೆಯ ದುರ್ಗವಕಟ್ಟಿಸುವುದು ಕೇಳಿಜನರು

ಅನೆ ಕುದುರೆಮಂದಿ ಭಂಡಾರ ಬೊಕ್ಕಸ ನಾನಾಪತಿಯು ಪರಿವಾರ

ನಾನಾದೇಶದ ಮೆ.....ರಾಲಿಕಾರು ಮಂತ್ರೀಶ ಕಾಣಿಸಿದನು ಕಂಠಿಗ

ಗಂಗಯ್ಯ ಸಂ. 3, ಪ 2-3.

1 ಅನೇಗೊಂದಿಯಂದಾನೆ ಕುದುರೆಯೊಳುತ್ತಾನತೆ ವೇಗದಿಂಬಂದ

ಅನದ ಬಿಸಿಲ ಮೂಳಿಯ ಕಣುಮೆಯ ದಾಂಟಿ ತೆಗಂಬೆನವರಸಂಪದಮಾ

ಖ. ರಾ. ಯು. ಸಂ. 6. ಪ 34.

Danḍādhipa, the minister of Baḷḷāla, and Baichappa, the minister of Kampila conferred together to settle the exact terms of the peace.

The war with Baḷḷāla ended in a great victory to Kampila. The differences between the two monarchs appear to have been settled for a time at least. Kumāra Rāma, however, was not inclined to allow the matter to rest there. He appears to have entertained the idea of destroying the power of Baḷḷāla. There was a discussion on the subject between Rāma and his father, in which the latter drew the attention of his son to their limited resources when compared to those of Baḷḷāla, and urged that in a struggle with him they were bound to be defeated. The father and son, however, could not come to an agreement. There sprang up a coldness between them. Rāma swore that within a very short time he would break down the power of Baḷḷāla, and left the court of his father.

Rāma then paid a visit to Warrangal with the object of securing the support of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra in his intended attack upon Baḷḷāla.¹ He was treated with great honour, and he hoped that his host would join him in making war upon the Hoyasala; but when he broached the subject, Pratāparudra declined to be a party in a war against Baḷḷāla, and this wounded the pride of the prince considerably. Thereupon, he began to behave insolently, and Pratāparudra wanted to keep him under custody; but he managed to escape, and reach safely his father's dominions. He then assumed some birudas which were peculiar to the Kākatīyas, and this hastened the outbreak of the war between Kampili and Warrangal. Pratāparudra invaded the kingdom of Kampila at the head of a large army. Singama Nāyaka, the commander of his troops promised that he would bring Kampila bound in chains before his sovereign; but in the battle that ensued, Singama Nāyaka was not only defeated, but was taken prisoner by Kumāra Rāma. He was brought before Kampila, who, however, treated him with much respect, and set him at liberty. Thus, the war with Pratāparudra ended in a great victory to Kampila, who began to rule his kingdom, thenceforward, in peace, devoting himself more and more to the pleasures of the harem. The task of governing the kingdom was left in the hands of Kumāra Rāma, who began to learn his first lessons in the art of practical administration.

The fame of Kumāra Rāma as a great warrior spread far and wide. The people even of distant Delhi became familiar with his heroic deeds. The Sultan had a daughter of surpassing beauty, who, happening to see a portrait of Rāma fell in love with him. The Sultan who was duly informed of this, approved of the choice of his daughter, and despatched envoys to the court of Ānegondi demanding that Kampila should send his son to Delhi so that he might wed the daughter of the Sultan. Kampila suspecting the good intentions of the Sultan, declined to send his son to Delhi. The envoys returned to their master, and reported to him what had happened. This enraged the Sultan considerably, and he took a vow that he would bring prince Rāma in chains to Delhi.

¹ ವಿರಬಲ್ಲಾಳನ ಮುರಿಯೆಂದು ರಾಮ ಓರಗಲ್ಲಿನವನ ಕಣಕಿದೆ |

ಹೋರಾಟ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡೆ ಅರಿತು ಮೈಮರದಿಹರು ಗಂಗಯ್ಯ. ಕು. ರಾ. ಚ. || 9-77 ||

The Sultan opened, on one day during the tribute-paying season, a contest in archery to discover the skill of his nobles in shooting. The winner in the contest was to get a large sum of money as reward. All the noblemen of the court, including probably Nemi Mulk, joined the lists. When the contest began all the competitors save one, as was to be expected, failed to hit the target. The successful candidate Bahadur Khan carried away the prize. Seven large vessels containing money were presented to him by the Sultan who in addition raised him to the rank of a Malik.

This excited the jealousy of the other nobles, who fearing that Bahadur Khan might acquire much influence at court, and even usurp the throne, joined in a conspiracy to bring about his downfall. At first, they thought of murder, but they gave up the idea as it was risky. At last, they decided that the best course which they should adopt was to create enmity between the Sultan and Bahadur Khan. One of the conspirators, pretending to be a well-wisher of Bahadur, called upon him at his residence, and told him that although the Sultan rewarded him for his skill in archery, he was secretly planning his ruin ; and advised him, if he desired to save himself, to leave Delhi as quickly as possible. Bahadur believed that his friend was speaking the truth. Therefore, he began to make preparations for his flight from Delhi with utmost secrecy. At first, he sent his family and treasure to Konkan ; then, taking with him but two hundred retainers, he left Delhi and travelled southwards. His enemies who had been closely watching his movements reported the news of his flight to Nemi Khan and he lost no time in bringing the matter to the notice of the Sultan.

A strong military force was immediately despatched to bring back the fugitive to the court. Although the royalists overtook Bahadur Khan near the southern frontier, they were not able to capture him on account of his superior military skill. Therefore, he made good his escape ; and crossing the frontier, he entered the dominions of Kampili Rāya. He continued his journey to the city of Kummaṭa, where, after narrating his story, he begged the Rāya to protect him from the wrath of the Sultan. Kampila at first hesitated : but when Kumāra Rāma urged that Bahadur who was homeless and helpless, should be protected, he gave him asylum in his kingdom.

The Sultan, having learnt that Bahadur Khan was living at Kummaṭa protected by the Rāya and his son, sent an army under Nemi Mulk against Kampili, with instructions to capture the fortress of Kummaṭa, destroy the Rāya with all his people, and bring Bahadur Khan to Delhi as a prisoner. The army marched southwards, and the rumour of the invasion reached Kummaṭa much earlier than the army itself. Kampila summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved to offer resistance to the Muslim army. Meanwhile, Nemi Khan marched southwards, perpetrating atrocious crimes all along the route. He reached at last Kummaṭa, and pitched his tents in its neighbourhood. Then, he sent envoys to Kampila demanding on behalf of his master that Bahadur Khan should be surrendered. The envoys urged that it would not be safe for him to excite the wrath of the Sultan further ; and that if he were a wise man he would hand over the fugitive

to the servants of the Sultan.¹ Kampila was firm in his resolve to fight unto the last, and he politely dismissed the envoys. Nemi Mulk then proceeded to invest the fortress closely, and the siege lasted for two days. On the first day, Kātanna led a surprise attack upon the Muhammadan Camp ; several people were killed and 2,000 horses were captured from the enemy. On the second day, Kumāra Rāma, placing himself at the head of a strong force, attacked the Muhammadan camp so fiercely that they were obliged to rise the siege immediately, and retire into the Sultan's territory.

The result of the first encounter between the Sultan's army and Kampili Rāya was a clear victory to the latter, which he celebrated with great pomp after the departure of the Muhammadan army. A few days later came the *śūlāda habba* to celebrate which all the feudatory chiefs of the kingdom flocked to the capital. Ratnāngi, one of the queens of Kampila climbed up to the terrace of her palace whence she could obtain an excellent view of the procession that was passing below in front of the royal palace. She saw several noblemen belonging to her husband's court, whose names she learnt from her maid. Among the crowd she perceived a handsome youth, and fell in love with him almost at once. On enquiry she learnt from her maid that the noble youth was none other than her stepson Prince Rāma, the most famous warrior of the age, and the heir-apparent to the throne of Kampili. Although it was impossible for her to carry on a love intrigue with the prince, she could neither forget him nor kill her passion for him. She was only waiting for an opportunity when she could entice him into her residence and gratify her desires. Soon, the much looked for opportunity came. Kampila went a-hunting, and was absent from his capital for a few days. Kumāra Rāma who stayed behind joined his companions, and began to play football in front of the palace. The ball was seized by one of Ratnangi's maidens who took it to her mistress. When some of his playmates, went into her palace requesting her to hand over the ball, she declined to give it to any one except Rāma. He entered her palace to fetch the ball ; but Ratnangi instead of surrendering the ball began to make overtures to him. He was horrified to hear the words which she uttered : therefore, he ran away from her presence precipitately. She was enraged at the way in which the prince treated her ; and her love for him was changed into bitter hatred. She vowed to take vengeance upon him for the insult which he offered to her.

¹ ತರುವಾಯ ನೇಮಿ ಅವರಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ಭಟರು ನೇಮಿ ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಪ್ರಕಾರ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯನ ಬಳಿಗೆ ಕುಮ್ಮಟ ದುರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ನೇಮಿ ನೇಮಿಸಂಗಡೆ ಯುದ್ಧಮಾಡಿ ಜಯಿಸಲಾರಿರಿ. ನಮ್ಮ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ಅದರಖಾನ ನೇಮನು ನಿಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದು ಸೇರಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಆತನ ನಮ್ಮ ವಶಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕೆಲವು ರೊಕ್ಕವನ್ನು ಬಕೆಟ್ಟರೆ ಸಮಾಧಾನವಾಗಿ ಹೋಗುತ್ತೇವೆ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅನಲಾಗಿ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯನ ಕಡೆಯಿದ್ದವರು ಅದೇಪ್ರಕಾರವಾಗಿ ಅನಲಾಗಿ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯನು ನನಗೆ ವೋರಿ ಹೊಕ್ಕಿರು ವಂಥ ಆತನ ಕೊಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲಯಂದು ಪಟ್ಟಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳುಹಿ ತಿಳಿಯಿಸಿದನು. ಅವಾಗ ಮತ್ತೂ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯಗೆ ಅವರಕಡೆಯಿದ್ದವರು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ನೇಮಿ ದಂಡುಬಿಟ್ಟು ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿದೆ. ಅವರ ಸಂಗಡ ಜಯಿಸಲಾರೆವು ಆದರಿಂದ ಖಾನನ ಕೊಡು. ಅನಲಾಗಿ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯನು ನೇಮಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಿ ಕಳಿಸುವಾನೆ. ನಿಮ್ಮಕಡೆ ಸಾವಿರ ಅನೇಕಳಿದ್ದಾಕ್ಷ್ಯ ಸಿಂಹದಮುಂದೆ ಯೇನು ಮಾಡತಕ್ಕದು ಅಂದು ನೇಮಿಕಡೆಬಂಧ ಭಟ್ಟರಿಗೆ ಉಡುಗರೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು, etc.

When Kampila returned from the hunting excursion, Ratnāngi complained to him that Rāma violated her modesty and treated her as if she were a common woman. Kampila who was enraged at the supposed shameful conduct of his son, summoned his minister Baichappa at once to his presence, and commanded him peremptorily to put his son to death. Baichappa discovered on enquiry that Rāma was innocent, and feeling compassion for the fate of the young prince, he resolved to save his life by means of a subterfuge. He ordered the immediate execution of five condemned criminals, and produced their heads before the king, telling him that they were the heads of Rāma and his four friends who killed themselves, as they could not survive the death of their beloved companion. The Rāya who was stricken with uncontrollable grief when he heard the news of the execution of his son, dared not look at the heads, and ordered their immediate removal. In the meantime, Baichappa made careful arrangements for the concealment of Rāma and his companions in an underground celler.

The execution of Rāma roused the indignation of the citizens of Kummaṭa, and some of them had even gone to the length of informing the Sultan by means of a letter. The enemies of the Rāya rejoiced at the death of their inveterate foe, the prince Rāma. Most of them were ready to compass the ruin of the Kampili Kingdom, and they were either sullenly biding their time or openly hostile. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in Kampili due to the execution of Rāma, the Sultan despatched an army against Kummaṭa, to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. When the Muhammadans reached Kummaṭa, the people of the city were stricken with panic, and they began to rail at their king for having put to death so unjustly the prince who could have saved them. The king himself remembered the heroic deeds of his brave son, and was filled with remorse. It was then that Baichappa brought the prince and his companions from their place of concealment, and the father and the son were openly reconciled.

The knowledge that Rāma was once again in their midst to protect them from the attacks of the Muhammadans restored the confidence of the people; but the fortress of Kummaṭa could not be held for long as it was surrounded by the enemy; it was inevitable that the fortress should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans sooner or later. Therefore, it was considered that certain precautionary steps should be taken to protect the families of the king, and of the fugitive Bahadur Khan. Kampili Rāya and his queen Harihara Dēvi together with Bahadur Khan and his family, went to Hosamaledurga (Ānegondi) escorted by a military force. With the exception of a small garrison, and all the important nobles who remained at Kummaṭa to defend the fortress, the people of the city were also sent to the same place for safety.¹ Rāma and Kātaṇṇa inspired the garrison to offer a stubborn resistance to the besiegers. They bore the brunt of the

¹ ಈ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಹೇಳಿ ತನ್ನ ಹೆಡ್ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯ ಕುಟುಂಬ ಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ ಹೊಸಮಲೆ ದುರ್ಗ ದಲ್ಲಿಹೋಗಿ ಯಿರುವುದು ಹೇಳಿ ಕಳಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಹರಿಯಾಳದೇವಿ ತನ್ನ ಕಡೆಯಿದ್ದ 3 ಹರವಿ ಹೊನ್ನೂ ಗಳ ಕೊನಾಕರ ರಾಮನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದಳು. ನಿನಗ ಮುಂದೆ ಬೇಕಾದ್ದೆಲ್ಲ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾಗಿಯಾಂಟು. ಯುದ್ಧ ಮಾಡುಯೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯ ಹರಿಯಾಳದೇವಿ ಬಹದರಖಾನ ಕುಟುಂಬ ಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ

fight; and the garrison encouraged by their example performed wonderful feats of valour. But they were overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy. It became gradually clear to the defenders, that the fall of the fortress was impending. Realising the gravity of the situation, Rāma sent his foster brother Kāṭaṇṇa to Hosemaledurga to inform his father about the imminent fall of Kummaṭa. When Kāṭaṇṇa told the Rāya what was taking place at Kummaṭa, he was stricken with grief; but recovering soon from this fit of depression, he resolved to go in person to the place. Before they started Kāṭaṇṇa having obtained permission to pay a short visit to his residence went thither and putting to death his wife and children, set fire to the house. He then returned to the royal palace, and joined the king's retinue in time to go back to Kummaṭa. On their arrival at Kummaṭa, Kāṭaṇṇa found that the fortress could not at all be defended, and that they should either surrender or perish while fighting with the enemy. Of course the idea of surrender could not be thought of; and inspired by the courage of despair they began to make preparations for the final battle. The wives of Kumāra Rāma burnt themselves to death on a pyre specially made for the purpose.

A feast was celebrated; and the select band of warriors who determined to face the enemy in the final struggle, took a sumptuous meal, and having adorned themselves with their best clothes and jewellery, they sallied out of the fortress with drawn swords, ready to kill the enemy, or to die upon his sword. The encounter between the besiegers and the besieged was short but fierce. The attack of the Hindus shook the Muhammadan lines; but they were overwhelmed and cut to pieces. At the end only two remained, Kāṭaṇṇa and Rāma. The latter asked Kāṭaṇṇa to surrender to the enemy, although he himself would not do so; but Kāṭaṇṇa would not listen to this proposal; and leaving his brother behind, he rushed upon the ranks of the enemy and was killed at once. Rāma followed the example of Kāṭaṇṇa, and he was also killed. His head was severed from the trunk, and it was sent to Delhi where it was exposed upon the battlements of the imperial city.

The Kingdom of Kampili ceased to be independent and it was annexed to the Delhi empire. Kummaṭa became the seat of a Muhammadan garrison.¹

IV

As we have noted already, what we know about the history of Kampili from the Muhammadan chroniclers and foreign travellers is not much. All the information which we can glean from them pertains to the final struggle with the

ಯುನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ಸೈನ್ಯ ಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ ಹೊಸಮಲೆ ದುರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ನಡೆದರು ಕುಮ್ಮಟದುರ್ಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥರು ಇನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ಸೈನ್ಯ 50 ಕುದುರೆ ಕುಮಾರ ರಾಮನು ಸರಿವಾರ ಇನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ಪಾಯ ದಳಮಾತ್ರ ಉಳಿದರು. ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಜನರ ನಾ ಹೊಸಮಲೆ ದುರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದನು.

THE KAIFIYAT OF THE BHATTAR.

¹ ಕುಮಾರ ರಾಮನ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಗಳು ಅಗ್ನಿ ಪ್ರವೇಶವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಕುಮ್ಮಟ ದುರ್ಗವನ್ನು ನೇಮಿಯವರು ತಾಣ್ಯವಾಯಿತು. ಕೊನೆಯ ರಾಮನ ತಲೆಡ್ಲಿಗೆ ಬದವಮಲೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಸೇರಿತು.

THE KAIFIYAT OF THE BHATTAR.

Muhammadans in which the kingdom perished. But the Kumāra Rāmana Charite which is the subject of the present study describes the history of the kingdom from its foundation to its fall.

According to the Story of Kumāra Rāma the Kingdom of Kampili was founded by one Mummaḍi Singa who was a feudatory of Rāma Dēva Rāya, the last Yādava king of Dēvagiri. There are two inscriptions of the time of Rāma Dēva in which Mummaḍi Singa is mentioned. In one of them he is represented as slaying Vīra-Chanḍarasa, a general of Rāma Dēva.

In the twelfth year of the prosperous reign of Vīra Rāmadēva (A.D. 1280),—the great minister, the Rāyadandnātha, Pesaṇi-Hanuma, Vīra-Chaṇḍarasa, having marched to Dōravāḍe, in Kurugōḍu-nāḍ, against Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, and fighting, having slain many men and horses, gained the world of Śiva.¹

In another inscription dated in the 32nd year of the same king (A.D. 1300), Khanḍeya Rāya, a son of Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka is said to have renewed the grant of the agrahāra of Harihar which was formerly restored by Kṛishṇa Kandara.²

Thus, it appears that Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka was an enemy of Rāma Dēva about A.D. 1280; but later he seems to have become the friend and feudatory of that monarch. These inscriptions establish Mummaḍi Singa's historicity, and his connection with Rāma Dēva.

We have definite epigraphical evidence to prove the historicity of his son Kampila Rāya. He figures in a few Hoyala inscriptions. We have also a short inscription of Vīra-Kampila Dēva, son Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka, in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi (L. R. 46). He is mentioned by Ibn Batuta, as the King of Kampili whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had slain. Moreover, he is referred to in the Telugu Bālabhāgavata as an enemy of Koṭikanṭi Rāghava, one of the early Āravīḍu chiefs.³

According to the Kampili Śāsanagaḷu⁴, an inscription of Kumāra Rāma is found at a village called Vasavalli, in the neighbourhood of Kampili; but the text of the inscription is not available. There is a reference to Kumāra Rāma in an inscription of Saka 1354, according to which, one Puṭṭagaḍe, a subject of Dēvarāya Mahārāya, opposed a force which came to Koḷavali in Sakalige-nāḍ, and broke the army, and in battle with valour like that of Kumāra Rāmanātha covered with arrows took swargga by force.⁵

The extracts which we have cited above are sufficient to show that all the members of the dynasty founded by Mummaḍi Singa are historical persons; and so far as this point goes Kumāra Rāmana Charite is entirely trustworthy.

¹ E. C. Vol. VII. Ci. 24.

² E. C. Vol. XI. Dg. 26

³ సమతారి తాత పిన్న మహావిభుండు

ఘనకౌర్యుడా కొటికంటి రాఘవుని, గనియే నరండు సంగ్రామంబునందు

రాజులు కంపిలిరాయ నైస్యముల చేజంబు మెరయంగ దనువ మై గలిచి

గరిమై గైకొనియే నగ్గంపరగూళి బిరుదంబు సరిస్యపుల్ చేర్కొని పొనుడ.

The Bhārati, Vol. VI. p. 847.

⁴ Mackenzie Mss.

⁵ E. C. Vol. VIII. Tl. 23.

The kingdom was founded according to the poem after the capture of Râma Dêva Râya by the Sultan of Delhi. We know that this event had taken place in A.D. 1307. But Mummaḍi Singa did not assert his independence until he heard of the death of the Râya in a battle. We know that Râma Dêva Râya who returned from Delhi did not die in battle; but Śankara Dêva, his son and successor was slain by the Muhammadans in battle in A.D. 1312. The Râya who, according to the Kumâra Râmana Charite perished in battle, must be Śankara Dêva, and not Râma Dêva. Therefore, the history of Kampili as an independent kingdom, must have commenced in A.D. 1312. We learn from Muhammadan historians that the kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 1327-28. It flourished only for a period of 15 years, i.e., from A.D. 1312 to 1327, during which it was governed by two kings Mummaḍi Singa and Kampili Râya.

Its History: When Malik Kafur carried away Râma Dêva as a prisoner to Delhi, Mummaḍi Singa left Dêvagiri, and retired with all his followers to Melenâḍ in the south. He halted at a place called Hāneya Dere where he built up habitations for himself, and his retainers. Hāneya Dere means 'Elephant's ridge', and it refers probably to a hill of that name in the neighbourhood of Kampili. Having established himself in this place, he paid a visit to Malla of Râyadurga, to whom he offered his submission and obtained not only his old fief but also twenty villages more. The most important event of his reign happened, after the death of Śankara Dêva. Mallarâya of Râyadurga who was the son of a sister of Râma Dêva usurped the throne of Dêvagiri; but a large number of the nobles who were jealous of the growing power of Malla, did not recognize him as their king. Mummaḍi Singa who placed himself at the head of the discontented nobles marched against Râyadurga, and killed Malla in battle. Then it was that he began to rule as an independent chief.

It is not at present possible to test the truth of statements of Kumâra Râmana Charite by other evidence. But there is nothing that is improbable in them. Mummaḍi Singa appears to be a petty chief who asserted his independence taking advantage of the confusion caused by the Muhammadan invasions, and the death of Śankara Dêva. The principality of Kampili rose from the ashes of the Yâdava kingdom of Dêvagiri.

We do not know when Mummaḍi Singa died; but we are certain that his death should have taken place sometime before A.D. 1324. It was in that year that Ulugh Khan carried away Pratâparudra II of Warrangal as a prisoner to Delhi. Kampila is said to have fought a battle with Pratâparudra in which he was victorious. This battle must have been fought before A.D. 1324, and Kampila was already king at that time.

There is the same uncertainty regarding his capital. There is no evidence to show that the town of Kampili was ever the capital of the principality. Throughout the poem, the fortress of Kummaṭa (the Crynamata of Nuniz) is referred to as the seat of Kampila's government: The Kaifyats of Kampili and the Bhaṭṭar agree with it on this point; but the Telugu ballad Kumâra Râmunî Katha tells us that the fortress of Vasavalli in Ānegondi Sîma was his capital. Early in his reign, Kampila built a strong fort called Hosamaledurga among the hills on the bank of the Tungabhadra,

The story of the hare and the hounds which we usually associate with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara is also described in connection with the construction of Hosamaledurga. There is sufficient evidence to identify this place with Ānegondi. Both Nanjunḍa, and Gangayya tell us that Hosamaledurga was built at a place called 'Mūrāne Sandhi' (ಮೂರಾನೆ ಸಂಧಿ) or the 'meeting place of three elephants i.e. elephant shaped hills. According to the Baḷḷāla Rāyana Yuddha, it was at Ānegondi where Kampila's troops assembled before they marched upon Baḷḷāla. Hosamaledurga or Ānegondi served as a second capital to Kampila. It was more secure than Kummaṭa. When the armies of Muhammad bin Tughlak were about to surround Kummaṭa, it was to Hosamaledurga that the royal family, Bahadur Khan with his family, and all the citizens of Kummaṭa were sent for safety.

The reign of Kampila is a period of continuous warfare. It may be divided into four divisions :

- (1) His early conquests.
- (2) The war with Baḷḷāla III.
- (3) The war with Pratāparudra II.
- (4) The struggle with the Muhammadans.

(1) *His early conquests* : At the time of his accession, the principality of Kampili was very limited in extent. It appears to have extended over a few square miles of land around Kummaṭa. Probably, the fortress of Rāyadurga was included in it. Soon after the construction of the Hosamaledurga, he proceeded to conquer the neighbouring chiefs. At first, he captured the fortresses of Toragal, Bādāmi, Hānagal, and Mudkal, and subdued almost the whole of the Raichore Doab, which was annexed to the kingdom of Kampili. The fact of this conquest is confirmed by the evidence of Ferishta. The Bhamini Sultan, Majahid demanded that Bukka I should evacuate the whole of the Doab.

The Rāya replied by a counter-demand that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of Doab, since Raichūr and Mudkal had always belonged to the Anegondi family.¹

It is clear from this that Bukka I who was a treasurer of Kampila Rāya recognized the Raichore Doab as a possession of 'the Anegundi family'. Therefore, we need not hesitate to accept the statement of Kumāra Rāmana Charite that Kampila conquered several fortresses in the Raichore Doab.

After establishing his authority firmly on the northern bank of the river, he proceeded to conquer the territory lying to the south of it. He captured Penugonḍa, and Niḍugal, and subdued the whole of Kandanūl-nāḍ. Next, Jagatāpi Rāya of Gutti was forced to submit. This closes the period of his early conquests, so far as they are described in the Kumāra Rāmana Charite ; but the Kaiḍiyat of the Bhaṭṭar gives us a list of the chiefs who were paying tribute to Kampila. Two chiefs, Gangarāja of Ghandi Kōṭa, and Sangama of Udayagiri are mentioned in it. It appears as if the authority of Kampila spread from the Western Ghats to the Eastern Ghats.

¹ Sewell : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 40.

(2) *The War with Ballāla III*: The Ballāla with whom Kampila fought is Ballāla III. It is said in an inscription of 1320¹ that Ballāla III marched upon one Kapila Dēva at Doravādi in Kurugōḍunād. Kapila Dēva appears to have defeated Ballāla III, and killed one of his dependents called Kuruka Nāyaka. Kampila is also mentioned in another inscription² of 1325 where in an encounter with a feudatory dependent upon the Hoysala King, either Kampila himself or some one connected with him is said to have been killed. As the inscription is fragmentary, the name of the person who was killed cannot be ascertained. We believe that Kapila Dēva of Nr. 19 is the same as Kampila of Tp. 24. As Kampila was alive until 1327-8 when he was killed by the Mussalmans, he could not have been the person that was slain 1325. These inscriptions bear ample testimony to what is said in the Kumāra Rāmana Charite, and the Ballāla Rāyana Yuddha.

(3) *The War with Pratāparudra II*: Pratāparudra II, the last Kākatīya king of Warrangal is said to have invaded the territories of Kampila. It is said that his army was commanded by a Padmanāyak chief, Singama Nāyaka. This must be Singama I, the founder of the Rēcherla family. Moreover, we have an allusion to this invasion in Srīnātha's *Bhimakhandam*. A minister of Pratāparudra II, Annaya by name is said to have destroyed the pleasure gardens of Kummaṭha.³

(4) *The Struggle with the Muhammadans*: We shall now describe the struggle of Kampili Rāya with the Sultan of Delhi. The name of the Sultan is not mentioned anywhere, so far as we are aware; but we know it for certain that it was Muhammad bin Tughlak who destroyed the Kingdom of Kampili. The Kumāra Rāmana Charite mentions two causes which led to the outbreak of the war between the Sultan and the Rāya. (1) The Sultan's daughter fell in love with prince Rāma, the son of Kampila; he wanted that the prince should be sent to Delhi for the purpose of marrying his daughter. Kampila did not comply with the request of the Sultan. (2) A nobleman of the court of the Sultan called Bahadur Khan, fled from Delhi owing to the machinations of the jealous courtiers of the Sultan, and took refuge with the Rāya of Kampili. The Sultan who considered that Bahadur Khan was a dangerous rebel, sent an army to capture him.

The first cause may be brushed aside as imaginary. The second was the real cause which led to the outbreak of hostilities between the two kingdoms. The Kaiḥiyat of the Bhaṭṭar lays great stress on this. At the beginning of the first expedition, the commander Nemi demanded in the name of his master, that Bahadur Khan should be surrendered. If the Rāya handed over the fugitive, he promised to retire from the Rāya's territory. Again, when, Nemi met the Sultan at the end

¹ E. C. viii. Nr. 19.

² E. C. xii. Tp. 24.

³ వీర దువ్రాశేష విశ్వం భరాధీశ పృథుల దక్షిణ భుజావీరమునఁ ।

తే॥ ఘనన సంహార విలయ కాలాగ్ని యనఁ ।

ధాటి విఘటిత కుమ్మతో ద్యానదేశఁ ।

విశ్వలోక ప్రళయమై విమరి కల్కఁ ।

నకుల బలసీరి పాలయయన్న కారి॥

of the first campaign, the Sultan asked him to go back and bring Bahadur Khan as a prisoner. Lastly, during the last campaign, when Kummaṭa was about to be surrounded by the Sultan's army, Bahadur and his family were immediately removed to a place of safety, so that he might not fall into the hands of the Sultan's soldiers. All these indicate that the cause which led to the outbreak of the war was the protection which Kampili offered to Bahadur Khan. According to Ibn Batuta and Ferishta the war had its origin in the protection which the Rāya of Kampili offered to Bahauddin Gushtasp or Koorshasip. We propose to identify Bahadur Khan of the Kumāra Rāmana Charite with Bahauddin Gushtasp of Ibn Batuta, and Koorshasip of Ferishta. This identification shows the agreement between the Hindu poem and the Muhammadan Chroniclers regarding the cause of the war.

The commander who was placed in charge of these expeditions is invariably called Nemi, Nemi Khan, or Nemi Mulk, whose achievements are enumerated by Nanjuṇḍa at some length. He conquered Mālwa and made the rāja a prisoner; he captured Dēvagiri and imprisoned Rāmadēva; he marched as far as the Southern Ocean in the waters of which he washed his bloody sword; he overthrew the Hindu rāja of Madura¹ and established a Muhammadan garrison there; he slew Hammīra, and captured Rantambhor after a siege lasting for seven or eight years. These, in fact, were the achievements of the famous Malik Kafur, the commander-in-chief of Sultan Allauddin Khilji. It seems reasonable to suppose that the name Nemi was given, at first to Malik Kafur. It appears to be an abbreviated form of Kālanēmi, the name of a famous Rākshasa warrior. In fact, the Mussalmans are constantly referred in the Kumāra Rāmaṇa Charite as Dānavas, and the Sultan as Dānāvādhipa. It may be of interest to note in this connection, that in certain Telugu poems Malik Kafur is referred to as Kāla Yavana.

Malik Kafur, as we know, died in A.D. 1316 and he could not have commanded the expedition against Kampili in 1327. Therefore, the Nemi who destroyed the kingdom of Kampili must be a different person, whose real name, according to the Muhammadan chroniclers is Khwāja Jehan. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Hindus who conferred the name of Nemi on Malik Kafur transferred it to every Muhammadan general who invaded South India.

Nemi according to the Kanarese records, is said to have led two expeditions against Kampili. He was defeated and driven away from the territories Kampila on the first occasion; but during the second campaign, his success was complete. He not only defeated Kampila, but slew him and all his relations thereby putting an end to the dynasty itself. This account is supported by Ferishta.

Muhammad Tughlak, in the meantime, says he, 'took the field, and arriving soon after at Dewgur, sent from thence Khwaja Jehan with a force against Koorshasip and the Raja of Kampili. The royalists were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgur, Khwaja Jehan

¹ 'Afterwards in the year of Śalivāhana Sagartam, one thousand two hundred and forty-six corresponding with the year of the era reckoned from the destruction of Gollam (Quilon) two hundred and twenty-seven, agreeing with Āṇi month Rudirotkāri year, when one named Parākrama Pāndion was reigning. Athi Sultan Mulk, and one called Nemi came from Delhi in the north, and taking Parākramadēvar captive, they sent him to Delhi, and conquered the country.'

—Taylor O. H. MSS. I. Page 203.

engaged the Raja a third time, and gained a victory in which the Raja of Kampili was made a prisoner.¹

We learn from Nuniz that the Rāja who was at Nagundy, at the commencement of the Muhammadan invasion, abandoned it in spite of its natural strength, and took shelter in a fortress called Crynamata (Kummaṭa) with five thousand chosen men.² It must be noted here that the city of Nagundy (Ānegondi) according to Nuniz, was not at all besieged by the Muhammadans, and that the king abandoned it voluntarily. The Kaifiyat of the Bhaṭṭar informs us that when the Muhammadan army was marching against Kummaṭa, acting upon the advice of Rāma, the Rāya with his family accompanied by Bahadur Khan and his family, retired to the fortress of Hosamale (Ānegondi) as this place was supposed to offer greater security, but when he was informed later, of the impending fall of Kummaṭa, abandoning Hosamaledurga he hastened thither. Therefore the chronicle of Nuniz seems to be in close agreement with the Kaifiyat of the Bhaṭṭar on this point. All our authorities are unanimous in telling us that the Rāya, and his followers killed their women and children, burnt their houses, and after celebrating a feast, sallied out of the fortress and perished at the hands of the enemy. There are, however, two important points on which our authorities differ. Ferishta and the Kaifiyat of the Bhaṭṭar tell us that the Rāya of Kampili was alive after the destruction of Kummaṭa; but Ibn Batuta, clearly states that the Rāya was killed; and Nuniz agrees with him. If the Rāya were alive in A.D. 1335, the Sultan would not have made one of the Rāya's ministers king of Ānegondi. We are of opinion that greater value should be attached to the account of a contemporary than to those of later writers. Again Bahadur is said to have perished at Kummaṭa in the fight. On this subject, that Muhammadan Chroniclers, whose authority cannot be questioned, unanimously declare that he was sent away from the scene of warfare to a place of safety.

Lastly, according to the Kaifiyats of the Bhaṭṭar and Kampili, the Kingdom of Kampili was annexed to the Delhi empire, and Kummaṭa became the seat of a Muhammadan garrison. This statement is borne out by the evidence of Barni and Nuniz.

¹ Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. I pp. 418-19.

² Sewell : *Forgotten Empire*, p. 293.

Vijayanagara

The origin of the great mediæval Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara is still shrouded in mystery. Sewell said, thirty years ago 'that two brothers of the Kuruba caste who were men of strong religious feeling serving in the treasury of the king of Warrangal fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323, and took service under the rajah of Ānegundi'. 'In 1334, the chief gave shelter to Bahauddin, nephew of Muhammad of Delhi, and was attacked by the Sultan. Ānegundi fell, . . . and the Sultan retired, leaving Malik as his deputy to rule the state. Malik found the people too strong for him, and eventually the Sultan restored the Hindus raising to be rajah and minister respectively the two brothers who had formerly been minister and treasurer. These were Harihara I ("Hakka"), and Bukka I.'¹

The theory of Sewell is based on a number of conflicting traditions which he attempted to harmonize; but it has not been accepted by several writers, as in their opinion, it is not satisfactory. Some of them, after an examination of inscriptions, have arrived at the conclusion that the founders of Vijayanagara were originally the subordinates of Vīra-Baḷḷāla III, the last Hoyasala king of Dwārasamudra, and that they asserted their independence sometime after the destruction of Dwārasamudra by the troops of Sultan Muhammad of Delhi in A.D. 1327.

Mr. Louis Rice is of opinion that 'there is reason to suppose that the founders of the Vijayanagara dynasty may have been chiefs under the Hoysalas'.² Mr. H. Krishṇa Śāstri asserts that Harihara I and Bukka I were subordinates of Baḷḷāla III. He tells us, while enumerating the subordinate feudatory families that rose to independence on the death of Baḷḷāla III, that 'Hoysala chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I were already growing in power'.³ Speaking of the change of the capital of Baḷḷāla III from Dwārasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai he observes, 'Perhaps, the change of the capital of Baḷḷāla III from Dōrasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only to the fear of the Muhammadans, but also to the rising power of his feudatory chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I.'⁴ He adds further, 'subsequent to the destruction of Dōrasamudra by the Muhammadans, Harihara I, and Bukka I perhaps began slowly to grow in power, and about A.D. 1340 they had acquired sufficient importance to build forts and attract the notice of the foreign travellers, though they were not still in a position to assume the titles of independent sovereignty. In fact, there is strong reason to believe that prior to A.D. 1346 by which time, perhaps, Baḷḷāla had died, there was no attempt made by Harihara and his brothers to declare their independence.'⁵

Dr. S. K. Iyengar informs us that in 1328-9 Baḷḷāla III 'went farther afield from Dwārasamudra, and laid the foundations of the city generally called

¹ *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 23.

² Arch. Rep. 1909-10, p. 160.

³ E. C. VI. Introduction, p. 21.

⁴ Arch. Rep. 1907-08, p. 236.

⁵ Arch. Rep. 1907-08, p. 236.

Hosapaṭṭaṇa or Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa which ultimately became Vijayanagar'.¹ He believes further that 'the five brothers to whom the inscriptions ascribe the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar' were employed by Baḷḷāla in commanding 'this impenetrable barrier of garrisons' 'to stem the tide of Bhamini invasions and keep it within its limits'.²

Mr. Satyanāḍhan goes a step further, and asserts that 'the officers of the last two Baḷḷālas who were associated with them intimately in their last struggles carried the war to victory by persistent efforts. Among a number of these officers . . . stood out a group of five brothers . . . It may be said with justification that the acquisition of the province of Madura by the empire of the Hoysalas marks the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar . . . The province of Madura was therefore one of the earliest acquisitions that transformed what was the kingdom of the Hoysalas into the empire of Vijayanagar.'³

The following points emerge from the above extracts :

(1) The founders of the empire of Vijayanagar were five brothers, the vassals of Baḷḷāla III, who, in order to bar the southern advance of the Deccani Muhammadans, employed them to command the garrisons along his northern frontier.

(2) After the destruction of the city of Dōrasamudra by the Muhammadans in 1327, Baḷḷāla transferred his capital to Tīruvaṇṇāmalai in the south, laying at the same time the foundations of a new city called Hosapaṭṭaṇa on the banks of the Tungabhadra. This new city 'ultimately became Vijayanagara.'

(3) Taking advantage of the retirement of Baḷḷāla III to the south subsequent to the destruction of Dōrasamudra, the five brothers acquired so much power and influence that they attracted the attention of foreign travellers.

(4) They served the last two Baḷḷāla's in their wars against the Muhammadans of Madura; and after the death of Baḷḷāla III, they succeeded in destroying the Madura Sultanate, an event which 'transformed what was the kingdom of the Hoysalas into the empire of Vijayanagar.'

(5) They asserted their independence after A.D. 1346 'by which time, perhaps, Baḷḷāla III died.'

Of these conclusions, only the first two are important, and the other three are corollaries which follow from them. Therefore, it is not necessary to examine all of them, and we shall confine our attention to the first two in the following section.

II

The conclusions of the writers whose views we have cited above are based upon faulty premisses. The method which they have employed in the investigation of the problem is not at all satisfactory. Their work is one sided, as they depend entirely upon epigraphical evidence, ignoring more or less completely, the Muhammadan chroniclers, and Portuguese travellers. Their study of the inscriptions

¹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 171.

² *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 181-182.

³ *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 3-4.

is neither exhaustive nor systematic, their assumptions are baseless, and identifications untenable.

All the writers mentioned above declare unanimously that the five brothers who founded the empire of Vijayanagar were vassals of Ballāla III. This is a gratuitous assumption for which we find no support in the inscriptions. We ask whether these writers can cite a single inscription, contemporary or late, in which the founders of Vijayanagar are described as the dependents of Vira-Ballāla III or any other Hoyasala prince. There is nothing, so far as we are aware, either in literature or popular tradition which establishes a connection between the Hoyasalas and the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. Nor can we find evidence in support of the proposition that Ballāla III appointed the five brothers to command the garrisons along his northern frontier. It is true that in 1352 A.D., 'three Hindu chieftains,' Horaib, Kapraz, and Kampraz were governing the territory extending to the south of the Bhamini kingdom from the Konkan coast to the east of Bijapore. It is also true that Mārappa and Muddappa were ruling Male and Mulbāgal Rājyas respectively;¹ but we fail to understand how 'this impenetrable wall of garrisons under the five brothers' can be described as protecting 'the kingdom of the Hoyasala' on its 'northern side'. The Hoyasala kingdom which perished in 1343 or 1344 required no protection on its northern frontier some eight or nine years after its extinction. It may, however, be pointed out that these five brothers were still holding in 1352, the territory which Ballāla III placed under their command about 1328. This is untenable. The dominions of Ballāla III never extended beyond the northern boundary of the modern Mysore State. The Konkan and the Male Rājya were included within the dominions of the Yādavas of Dêvagiri. After the death of Śankara Dêva in A.D. 1312, they passed into the hands of the Rāyas of Kampili between whom and Ballāla III there had always existed enmity. We learn from the inscriptions that at least there were three wars between Ballāla III and Kampila in all of which the latter appears to have been victorious. Therefore, it could not have been possible for Ballāla to have won any territory to the north of the Tungabhadra during this period. The kingdom of Kampila was destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1327, and was annexed to the empire of Delhi. After this, Ballāla III could have had no opportunity of conquering any territory in the north, not to speak of posting any officers to command the garrisons in the territory between the Tungabhadra and the Kṛishṇa.

It is said that after the destruction of Dōrasamudra by the Muhammadans in 1328, Ballāla transferred his capital to Tiruvaṇṇamalai where he is said to have resided constantly 'during the last fifteen years of his reign' i.e., from 1328 to 1343. At the same time, he is said to have gone 'farther afield from Dwārasamudra and laid the foundations of the city generally called Hosapaṭṭaṇa or Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa which ultimately became Vijayanagar'.² Ibn Batuta tells us that the army of the Sultan, 'after the death of the *rāi* of Kambila,' 'proceeded towards the country

¹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.* P. 171.

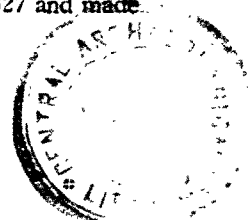
² *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.* P. 171.

of the infidel (Baḷḷāla III) with whom Bahauddin had taken refuge and surrounded it.' Baḷḷāla III submitted to the Sultan, and surrendered the fugitive.¹ Ibn Batuta does not mention any damage that was done to the city. There was no reason why the Sultan's troops should have destroyed the city when the enemy offered no resistance. There is no truth in the statement that after this event Baḷḷāla III transferred his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The following table throws some light upon the movements of the king from A.D. 1328 to 1340.

No.	Reference	Śaka year	Cyclic year, month, etc.	The Kings Nelevtḍu
1	E. C. ix. Ht. 124	1250	Vibhava Śrāvaṇa Śu 15	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa
2	E. C. xi. Cd. 4	1250	Vibhava Śrāv. ba 10	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa
3	E. C. xii. Ik. 55	1250	Vibhava Kārtt ba 10	Dōrasamudra
4	E. C. ix. Db. 14	1251	? Vibhava Śrāv. ba 10	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa
5	E. C. ix. Dv. 60	1251	? Vibhava Kārtt Śu 3	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa
6	E. C. v. Ak. 66	1252	Pramōḍa Āsava Śu 12	Virūpakshapaṭṭaṇa
7	E. C. xii. Gb. 30	1253	Prajōpatti Āsava ba 3	Virūpaksha-Hosadurgga
8	E. C. ix. Cp. 71	1253	Prajōpatti Kārtt Śu 1	Aruṇasamudra
9	E. C. ix. Nl. 9	1255	Srimukha Mārg Śu 10	Hosabettā
10	Rep. Epi 401/1919	1256	Bhāva Tai 2	Conjeevaram
11	E. C. ix. Br. 110	1257	Yuva, Māgh ba 1	Dōrasamudra
12	E. C. iii. Tr. 83	1258	Dhātu, Push Śu 1	Dōrasamudra
13	E. C. v. Ak. 183	1261	Bahu, Vais Śu 2	Dōrasamudra
14	E. C. ix. Ht. 43	1261	Bahu Māgh Śu 5	Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpaksha- paṭṭaṇa
15	E. C. ix. Br. 117	1262	Pramādi, Āshāḍha Śu 5	Dōrasamudra
16	Rep. Epi 102/1927	1262		Dōrasamudra
17	E. C. ix. Br. 31	1263	Vikrama Kārtt ba 5	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa

It is obvious that Baḷḷāla III who was staying for at least one year at Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa left it in A.D. 1330, and did not return to it until 1341. During this interval of eleven years, he was constantly moving from place to place in the Mysore country, as the exigencies of the administrative work demanded. He appears to have reached Dōrasamudra at last in 1335, and he resided there for six years, excepting for a short time in 1339 when he visited a place called Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpakshapaṭṭaṇa. It cannot be maintained that Baḷḷāla III abandoned Dōrasamudra, after it had been destroyed by the Mussalmans in 1327 and made

¹ ELIOT AND DAWSON, Vol. III, p. 614-15.



Tiruvannāmalai his capital. We believe that Dōrasamudra was the only capital of Baḷḷāla III until his death in 1343, and the other *nelevēḍus* should be regarded as only places of temporary residence.

Of all the myths that have crept into the field of South Indian historical research in recent years, the myth of Baḷḷāla's foundation of Hosapaṭṭaṇa-Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa-Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa-Virūpāksha - Hosadurga - Hosabeṭṭa - Hampi-Vijayanagara is the most astounding. This city of many aliases is said to have been built by Baḷḷāla III in 1328-9 on the banks of the Tungabhadra opposite to the fortress of Ānegundi. We boldly assert that Baḷḷāla III never built any city not to speak of Hosapaṭṭaṇa-etc.-Vijayanagar :

(1) His inscriptions which give us information on a variety of topics such as the repairs conducted in temples, the reconstruction of the capital, and the building of new mansions by the king, do not mention the foundation of any new city, not to speak of Hosapaṭṭaṇa. Although the names of the several places where the king resided are mentioned in the inscriptions, Hosapaṭṭaṇa is not one of them.

(2) Hampi which is said to be the same as Hosapaṭṭaṇa, does not contain any inscription of Baḷḷāla III or his subordinates, although he is said to have resided there for some years. An inscription of Sōmēśvara,¹ the grandfather of Baḷḷāla III which is found in the temple of Virūpāksha is said to prove that Hampi was included in Baḷḷāla's dominions. In our opinion, it proves nothing of the kind.

(3) From an inscription of Kampiḷa Dēva found at Hampi, we learn that the Prasanna-Virūpāksha temple on the Hēmakūṭa Hill was built by him.² Hampi must have been included in the territory of Kampiḷa. It must have passed into the hands of the Sultan of Delhi after the fall of Kummaṭa in 1327. The troops of the Sultan, as we have noted, proceeded at once to Dōrasamudra which they besieged in 1328. Vīra-Baḷḷāla III submitted to the Sultan, and surrendered to him the fugitive Bahauddin. He is also represented as transferring his capital to the distant city of Tiruvannāmalai on account of his fear of the Muhammadans. How could such a person have had the courage to lay the foundations of a new fortress in the territory that legally belonged to the Sultan, and that under the very walls of Ānegundi an important place in the province of Kampiḷa? Would the Sultan who was still at Dēvagiri have treated this encroachment upon his dominion with indifference? For these reasons we are obliged to reject the theory which attributes the foundation of Vijayanagar to Baḷḷāla III.

What has been said above must have made it clear that Harihara I and his brothers were not the feudatories of the Hoyasalas, and that Baḷḷāla III had nothing to do with the building of the city of Vijayanagar. The causes which led to the establishment of the Empire of Vijayanagar are to be sought elsewhere, and we shall address ourselves to the task presently.

III

(1) *The Origin* : Having stated our reasons for rejecting the views of the Hoyasala school of writers, we shall now proceed to describe the circumstances

¹ *Arch. Survey*, 1926.

² *L. R.*, 46.

under which the Empire of Vijayanagar, according to the evidence of the inscriptions, was founded. We learn from one of the earliest inscriptions of Harihara I, the first king of Vijayanagar, that he 'conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean.'¹ He was assisted in his work by his brothers, Kampanṇḍeyar, Bukkanṇḍeyar, Muddappṇḍeyar, and Mārappṇḍeyar. Another inscription² tells us that 'Harihara together with his brothers', was governing the earth from his capital, 'the great city of Hastini'. 'Of these five (brothers) Bukka was the chief, like Arjuna, the middle Pāṇḍava.'³ We have to infer, therefore, from these early inscriptions that the Empire of Vijayanagar was founded by Harihara and his brothers of whom Bukka was the most important.

Who were these five brothers? What were the circumstances which helped them in founding the empire? The inscriptions, no doubt, tell us that they were the sons of Sangama of the Yādava Kula; but they do not give us any information regarding their early history. According to the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya, a Sanskrit chronicle which was probably written at the commencement of the 17th century, Harihara and Bukka, the most important of the five brothers mentioned above, were holding the offices of the treasurer and the usher respectively at the Court of Pratāpa Rudra II of Warrangal. When Pratāpa Rudra II was defeated and made prisoner by the Sultan of Delhi, these officers fled southwards, and took refuge with king Rāmanātha of Kuru descent who not only gave them protection but appointed them as the guardians of his treasury. After his death they were made prisoners by the Muslim soldiers who took them to the Sultan. They were kept in prison for a while, but were subsequently released, and made the rulers of Karṇāṭa which they began to govern, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan, from the city of Hastikōṇa, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Later, they defeated King Baḷḷāla, and wrested from him his dominions.⁴ Then, they laid the foundations of the city of Vijayanagara which became the capital of the biggest mediaeval Hindu Empire in South India.

The connection of the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, with Pratāpa Rudra of Warrangal is also referred to by Kēḷaḍi Basava Rāja in his *Śiva Tatva Ratnākara*. He informs us that Harihara and Bukka who were the treasurer and the usher respectively of king Vīra Rudra, being pursued by the Muhammadans came to the court of king Rāmanātha, and took service under him as the officers in charge of his treasury. The same author alludes also to their sojourn in Northern India. He tells us that they went on a pilgrimage to Northern India, unable to bear the sorrow caused by the captivity of Vīra-Rudra.⁵

¹ E. C. VI Sg. 1.

² E. C. VII. Sb. 375.

³ E. C. VI. Kp. 25.

⁴ See Appendix A.

⁵ *Śiva Tatva Ratnākara*. Kallōla iv. Taranga 12. Verses 30-31.

नियमं कुर्वति स्वीयं विद्यारण्ययतोश्चरे
उजयिन्या हरिहर बुक्कनामाङ्गितानुमौ
बोरुदमहोमर्तुः कोशागौहाधिकारिणौ
तस्यस्यये विषादेन तोर्ययात्रा विधायिनौ ॥

The *Keladi Nṛpa Vijaya* of Linganna refers to them as Northern Kshatriyas who, having migrated to the South, entered into marital relations with the people of the Kuruba caste.²

We understand from the Baḷḷala Rāyana Yuddha that Harihara and Bukka were in the service of Kampila Rāya, the father of Kumāra Rāmanātha as the custodians of his treasury. The author, Nanjuṇḍa, while enumerating the various nobles and the officers at the court of Kampila, speaks of them as Bhaṇḍārada Harihara, and Bhaṇḍārada Bukkaṇṇa.³

The writers whom we have cited state definitely that Harihara and Bukka (the founders of Vijayanagar) migrated to the court of Kampila from Warrangal after the defeat and imprisonment of Pratāpa Rudra II by the Muhammadans. They were made prisoners, and taken to the Sultan who kept them under custody for sometime, He released them subsequently and made them the rulers of Karṇāṭa. The trustworthiness of these statements is shown by Zian-ud-dīn Barnī, a writer who lived at the court of Muhammad bin Tughlak. He tells us that the person 'whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampili)', to govern the province on his behalf was, 'one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak', the king of Warrangal. He became, according to Nuniz, the founder of the city of Bisnaga. The Kanyā Nāyak mentioned by Barnī is said to be a son of Pratāpa Rudra II. Therefore, on the evidence of the contemporary historian Barnī, we are justified in asserting that Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Empire of Vijayanagar, were persons of Telugu extraction, probably related to the Kākatīya royal family of Warrangal.³

(2) *The relations with the Sultan of Delhi*: The relations between the Sultan of Delhi and the founders of Vijayanagar is briefly described by Barnī thus: 'About this time (A.D. 1346) one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak whom the Sultan had sent to rule the land of Kambala (Kampili) apostatized from Islam and stirred up a rebellion. The land of Kambala was thus lost.'⁴

¹ *Keladi Nṛpa Vijaya*. Mysore Government Publication, p. 15.

² Mackenzie Mss 19-2-14: Baḷḷala Rayana Yuddha. Āsvāsa 6; Sandhi 1: Vs 97-98.

³ The Telugu origin of the kings of the Sangama dynasty is indicated also by stray references in literature and inscriptions. The Kanarese writer Sarvajña refers to Bukka I as 'Oragallu Bukka.' (*Sarvajña's Kāḷajñāna*, v. 131. Or. Mss. Lib. 19-2-14, p. 156). Bukka I was the patron of the Telugu poet Nāchana Sōma, the author of *Uttara Harivamśa*. The book itself is dedicated to Hariharanātha which is taken to be a covert allusion to Harihara I. The similarity of the views of the king and the poet, regarding sectarian differences as revealed by a comparative study of *Harivamśa*, and the so-called '*Rāminujāchari Edicts*' shows that the relations between them were very intimate. It is significant that the only vernacular poet whom Bukka ever patronised was a Telugu poet. We also learn from some of the inscriptions of the time (E. C. xii. Pg. 18, 72, 82 etc.) that several families of Telugu gowdas migrated to the Kanarese country; and there is reason to believe that the migration was due to the initiative of the state. Again, Mārāpa, one of the five brothers who founded the Vijayanagar empire granted a village in Chandragutti Rājya as an agrahāra to Telugu Brāhmins who were dependent upon him. (E. C. viii. Sb 375) Lastly, Gangā Dēvi, the daughter-in-law of Bukka I, in her *Madhurāvijayam*, while offering the customary praises to the Sanskrit poets mentions, in addition to the great writers like *Kālidāsa*, *Dandin*, etc. some poets that flourished at Warrangal about the time of Pratāpa Rudra II. The names of these writers are Agastya, and Viśvanātha. It is also very interesting to note that she speaks of a poet called Tikkarāja whose name is not known to the students of the Sanskrit literature. The Tikkarāja mentioned by Gangā Dēvi is our famous Kavi Brahma. Tikkana, the author of the Telugu *Maha Bhārata* and *Nirvachanottara Rāmāyaṇa*. These indications, although dim, point distinctly to the Telugu descent of the Sangama line of kings.

⁴ ELIOT AND DAWSON, III. P. 247.

It is clear from the above that Kampili formed part of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad before 1346. He sent one of the relations of Kanyá Náyak of Warran-gal to rule it as his deputy; but he apostalized from Islam, and threw off the yoke of the Sultan in or about 1346.

Nuniz gives us more information. According to him, the person who was made the ruler of Nagundy (Ānegundi) by the Sultan was Deorao, the minister of the old king of Nagundy whom the Sultan had slain some years before. With him was associated in the government of the province, the treasurer of the old king whom the Sultan had now 'raised to be the governor.' He 'took from them oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals, and they were at once despatched and sent to their lands with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury.' Deorao with all his followers reached Nagundy safely; and Meliquy Niby, the Sultan's deputy in Nagundy 'delivered up to him the fortress and the kingdom as the king his lord had commanded.'²

According to the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya, Harihara and Bukka who had been kept in prison by the Sultan escaped from it by effecting a breach in one of its walls, on a dark and stormy night, but they were soon recaptured, and taken before the Sultan. That wise and virtuous monarch was very much pleased to hear of their capture. And, having made them, the rulers of Karnāṭa, sent them thither with an army. The brothers who had thus been appointed by the Sultan to rule Karnāṭa started on their journey with great joy and reached that land, after crossing the river Kṛishṇavēṇi in boats.³

It is obvious from these extracts that Harihara and Bukka, who had been taken prisoners at the time of the fall of Kummaṭa, attempted to escape from the prison but were recaptured. The Sultan was, it is said, not only pleased with them but also appointed them as rulers of Karnāṭa. This behaviour of the Sultan is very inexplicable. Probably, they obtained the Sultan's pardon by embracing Islam. The fact of their conversion to the religion of the Prophet, must have been one of the considerations which prompted the Sultan to send them to govern Karnāṭa as his deputies. Meliquy Niby, acting in accordance with the instructions of his master, placed the administration of the province in their hands, and retired to Delhi. It was under these circumstances that Harihara and Bukka became the masters of the kingdom of Kambala, or Nangudy (Ānegundi) which they began to rule as the subordinates of the Sultan of Delhi.

(3) (a) *Extent of the Kingdom*: It is not possible to define clearly the boundaries of the kingdom to rule which Sultan Muhammad sent the two brothers Harihara and Bukka. Probably, all the territory over which Kampila ruled formerly passed into their hands. That at any rate seems to be the implication of a claim, which, according to Ferishta, Bukka is said to have made. When the Bhamini Sultan Mujahid demanded that Bukka should evacuate the whole of the Raichore Doab, he replied, 'that the Sultan should evacuate the whole of the Doab, since Raichore and Mudkal had always belonged to the Ānegundi family.' Further, he

² SEWELL : *Forgotten Empire*, P. 296.

³ Appendix A.

declared that 'the Kṛishṇa river to be the true boundary.'¹ It appears from this that the founders of the Vijayanagar kingdom regarded themselves as the heirs of 'the Ānegundi family', whose territory comprised the whole of the doab between the Kṛishṇa and the Tungabhadra.

Nuniz tells us that the Sultan of Delhi who 'had become the lord of all the country of Ballagate (the country above the ghats) passed the river Duree which forms the boundary of the territories of Ballagate, and of those of the king of Bisnaga (Ānegundi).'² The river Duree which is said to form the boundary between the dominions of the Sultan and those of the king of Ānegundi seems to be an abbreviated form of Perudore or Hiredore, which is the Kanarese name for the Kṛishṇa. Therefore, it appears reasonable to suppose that in 1336 A.D. the kingdom of Harihara I was very limited in extent being practically confined to the Raichore Doab. It was probably for this reason that Gangā Dēvi refers to her father-in-law, *Bukka as Kuntala bhūmi pāla*.³

The same conclusion is forced on us by a study of the early Vijayanagar inscriptions. There are two copper plate grants⁴ of Harihara I dated in 1336 A.D.; and these are justly rejected as spurious. If we exclude these two, the earliest dated inscription is the Bādāmi inscription of 1340 A.D.⁵ We do not find in the Hoyasala dominions even a single Vijayanagar inscription bearing a date anterior to 1342 by which time the whole of the west coast appears to have passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers. The Hoyasala inscriptions are found in 1343 in the Anantapur District, and the earliest Vijayanagar inscription belongs to a later date. It is clear, that the authority of Harihara I did not extend over the Hoyasala dominions until 1342 A.D. Therefore, his dominions before this date extended from the Kṛishṇa in the north to a line drawn across the peninsula along the latitude of Hampi in the South.

(b) *The Capital*: The first capital of Harihara I was the city of Ānegundi. We understand from the chronicle of Nuniz that Deorao was ruling at the city of Nagundy (Ānegundi), before he built Bisnaga.⁶ The statement of Nuniz is borne out by the inscriptions. Both the Kāpalūr⁷ and Bestarahaḷḷi⁸ plates mention the city of Kunjerakōṇa as the capital. An inscription of Mārappa dated 1347 tells us that Harihara's capital was 'the great city of Hastini.'⁹ In some of the inscriptions of Harihara II, it is referred to as Hastināvati. According to the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya, Harihara I, was ruling at the city of Hastikōṇa, prior to the construction of the city of Vijayanagar. Therefore, the first capital of Harihara I was Ānegundi which was also known by other names such as Kunjerakōṇa, Hastikōṇa, Hastini, and Hastināvati.

4. *The Struggle with Baḷlāla III*: A study of the inscriptions of the period reveals that between the years 1335 and 1340, Baḷlāla III was in the Kanarese

¹ SEWELL: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 40.

² Ibid. P. 292.

³ Madhuravijaya: Trivandrum Oriental Series.

⁴ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 18; E. C. Bg. 70.

⁵ Arch. Survey Ref. 1907-8.

⁶ SEWELL: *Forgotten Empire*, p.

⁷ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 18.

⁸ E. C. Bg. 70.

⁹ E. C. VIII Sb. 375.

country constantly moving from place to place. We also learn that his sway was recognized all over his dominions, and that his authority showed no sign of decline. At the same time, the rulers of Vijayanagar were also active, and, towards the close of the period, their sway appears to have extended from Konkan to Cuddappah. The nature of the relations between the two powers cannot be definitely ascertained from the inscriptions. They, no doubt, allude to the constant fighting which Ballāla and his generals were carrying on along the northern frontier with some enemy whose name is not mentioned. The only enemy with whom Ballāla could have fought at this time along the northern frontier was the king of Vijayanagar. We learn for the first time from the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya that Harihara and Bukka, attacked Ballāla III, soon after their return from Delhi, but were defeated; however, they renewed the attack, and succeeded not only in defeating Ballāla but wrested his dominions also from him.¹ The statement of the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya is confirmed by the evidence of the inscriptions of Bukka I and his subordinates which allude to the wars which they waged against the Hoyasalas. Mallinatha Voḍeyar, the son of Aḷiya Sāyi Nāyaka claims to have acquired greatness over the 'Hoyasaṇa army.'² Tippa Rāja probably a sāmanta of Bukka captured the fort of Uchchhangī.³ The capture of Uchchhangī is referred to in another inscription which also mentions that Tippaṇṇa Voḍeyar and Teppada Nāgaṇṇa, the sabhāpati of Bukkarāya were unwilling to give up Sosavūr in the Hoyasaṇa country.⁴ Bukka is said to have 'freed from the enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dōrasamudra, (and) ruled over an empire perfect in seven parts.'⁵ In an inscription of 1354 A.D., he is 'stated to have been ruling at Hosapaṭṭaṇa,' 'after making the Hoyasala kingdom an ornament to his arm' i.e., after conquering it.⁶ Putting the information contained in the Hoyasala and the Vijayanagar inscriptions together, we draw from it the necessary inference that Ballāla III and the sons of Sangama were fighting with each other during this period.

The struggle between the two powers lasted from 1336 to 1343 A.D. This period of seven years naturally falls into two divisions:

(a) *From 1336 A.D. to 1340:* The struggle began in South Kanara. The city of Bārakūru is said to have been the capital of Ballāla III in the district. About 1336 A.D., Harihara I who was governing Konkan pushed southward and built a fortress at Bārakūru.⁷ Ballāla sent two of his generals, Baichappa Daṇṇāyaka and Ajjayasāhiṇi in 1336, 'probably to check the advance of Harihara, and prevent Bārakūru from falling into his hands. Harihara appears to have made a concentrated effort to capture the place in 1338 A.D. The attack was so vigorous that Ballāla's generals entertained the idea of abandoning the city altogether. Ballāla hastened to the place, and commanded Ankeya Nāyaka, his general in charge of operations 'to remain in Bārakūru'. When the general replied, 'I will stay, jīya', the king was so pleased with the answer that he granted him the village of

¹ Appendix A.

² E. C. V. Part I Hn. 19.

³ E. C. IV yd. 46.

⁷ STURROCK *South Canara Manual*, p. 55.

² E. C. XI. Cd. 2.

⁴ E. C. VI Mg. 25.

⁵ My. Arch. Rep. 1925, No. 84, p. 73.

⁶ Rep. of *Epigraphy*, 122 of 1901.

Aladahajji.¹ Probably the Hoyasala generals held the place until 1339. It is clear from this inscription that the Hoyasala army at Bārakūru was in a desperate condition. The city must have been taken by Harihara soon after. The whole of Konkan was incorporated with the Vijayanagar Empire sometime before 1342.² The actual date of the conquest of the west coast was probably 1340, when Baḷḷāla III retired to the southern part of his dominions.

Fighting was going on at the same time between the two powers in the Kōlār district. The Hoyasala army was placed under the command of Baḷḷappa Daṇṇāyaka the younger brother of Dāti Singeya Daṇṇāyaka. We come across a series of inscriptions bearing the dates 1337 and 1339, which record the grants of certain private individuals made 'for the success of the sword and arm of Baḷḷappa Daṇṇāyaka.'

No.	Reference	Date	Donor	Object
1	E. C. x. Ct. 53	1337	'The great Paṣāyitta ... daṇṇāyaka and the inhabitants of Periyānāḍu	'For victory to the arm of the great minister Dāti Singeya Nāyaka's younger brother Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka.'
2	E. C. x. Kl. 54	1339	Dēvappar of Koḍambu-livūr	'For the success of the sword and arm of Śrī Pūsana Vira-Vallāla Deva's son Periya Valappa-daṇṇāyaka'.
3	E. C. x. Bp. 28	1339	Four Subordinates of Baḷḷappa-daṇṇāyaka of ḷavaṇjināḍu	'For the success of the sword and arm of Dāti Singeya Nāyaka's younger brother Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka.'

Grants such as these show that the war in the Kōlār district commenced in 1336, and it became fierce in 1339. It continued probably with great vigour until the middle of A.D. 1340 when Baḷḷāla III went from Dōrasamudra to reside at Unṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa, his southern capital.³

(b) 1340 to 1344: While the war was still going on along the northern frontier of his kingdom, Baḷḷāla was obliged to hasten to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, his capital in the Tamil country. His departure from Dōrasamudra must be attributed to the aggressive policy of the Sultan of Madura who began to attack the Hoyasala kingdom in the South. The following facts must be noticed in this connection:

- (1) Baḷḷāla III performed the anointment of his son in 1340.⁴
- (2) He left Dōrasamudra and went to reside at Unṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa in 1340.⁵
- (3) Ahsan Shah, the first Sultan of Madura was murdered in 1340.⁶
- (4) Allaud-din Uḍauji ascended the throne in 1340.⁷

¹ E. C. V. Ak. 183.

² E. C. VIII Sb. 263.

³ E. C. ix. Dv. 54.

⁴ E. C. IX. Br. 111.

⁵ E. C. IX. Dv. 54. and also Epi. Rep. 102-127.

⁶ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. p. 165.

⁷ Ibid

(5) Ballāla III led a mighty army as far as Rāmēśvaram where he planted a pillar of victory in 1341.¹

We believe that the murder of Allauddin Ahsan Shah, and the accession of the fiery Allauddin Uḍauji to the throne of Madura were the causes of the departure of Ballāla III from Dōrasamudra in 1340. The achievements of the new sultan are described by Ibn Batūta as follows: 'At the end of this time he (Allauddin Uḍauji) set out to conquer the infidels. He took a considerable amount of riches and ample spoils from them, and returned to his own state. The following year (1341) he led a second expedition against idolators, routed them, and massacred a large number.'² It is evident that Uḍauji attacked the Hoyasala dominions to protect which Ballāla was obliged to hasten to the south. Therefore, he anointed his son, probably as king³ and placing him at the head of the government of his northern provinces, he retired to the south for the purpose of prosecuting warfare against the Muhammadans with vigour. In 1341 he appears to have conquered the east coast as far as Rāmēśvaram where he is said to have planted a pillar of victory.

The inscriptions do not reveal any trace of warfare between the years 1340 and 1343. We know that Ballāla III died in the middle of 1342,⁴ and his son Vīra-Virūpāksha Ballāla (IV) ascended the throne in 1343.⁵ Ballapa dāṇṇayaka appears to have been associated with him in governing the kingdom. Fresh warfare commenced, as shown by the following table, once again in 1343.

No.	Reference	Date	Donor	Object
1	E. C. x. Mr. 16	1343	A trustee of the temple of the Arulājanātha Perumāḷ.	'For the success of the sword and arm of Vallappa-dāṇṇayakar'
2	E. C. Ct. 89.	1344	Varundaram Perumāḷ	'For the success of the sword and arm of Bukkarāya'
3	E. C. iv. Hs. 111	1344	Certain people of the village of Chappara-dapalli.	Set up a Virakal in memory of some gowdas who fell in the service of Hariyappa-Vodeyar.

There is some reason for believing that the authority of Ballāla IV was not recognized by all his subjects. An inscription 1343⁶ mentions one Tenkaṇa Rāya Bīreya-dāṇṇayaka with the Hoyasala titles. It does not contain the usual reference to the name of the reigning monarch. We may infer from this that 'petty chiefs' dependent upon the Hoyasalas began to 'set themselves forth as supreme.'⁷

¹ E.C. IX. Ml. 82.

² *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders.* p. 235.

³ The practice of the ruling king anointing his son and placing him in charge of certain provinces of the kingdom was not unknown to the Hoyasalas. Sōmēśvara anointed his son Narasiṃha III as king, and placing him in charge of the northern provinces, retired to the South.

⁴ E.C. VI. Kd. 75.

⁵ E.C. VI. Cm. 100.

⁶ E. C. VI. Hg. 112.

⁷ E.C. IV. Intro. p. 23.

Baḷḷāla IV is not mentioned again in any other inscription. Perhaps, he was killed in battle soon after his accession. Baḷḷappa-dannāyaka, his commander appears in a new roll. He seems to have married a daughter of Harihara I in 1346.² The authority of the king of Vijayanagar was firmly established all over the Hoyasala dominions by 1344. The Hoyasala regime is referred to as a thing of the past in 1346.³ This is confirmed by the evidence of another inscription of the same year,⁴ which records a grant made by Harihara, his brothers, relations, and officers to Vidyātīrtha when they assembled at Sṛingēri, to celebrate the festival of victory, after the conquest of the earth from the Eastern to the Western Ocean. Another inscription of the time of Harihara II informs us that 'when Hiriya Hariyappa-Oḷeyar was ruling the earth in the Hoyasaṇa country, he came along with his brothers, and son-in-law Billappdannāyaka to Sṛingēri to pay homage to Vidyātīrtha Sṛīpāda in the year Pārthiva (1346).'⁵ It is clear from this that the celebration of the festival of victory was directly connected with the conquest of the Hoyasaṇa country.

5. *The declaration of independence.* The year 1346 is also important from another point of view. It was the year in which the king of Vijayanagar shook off the yoke of the Sultan of Delhi. We have already stated, on the authority of the chronicle of Nuniz and the Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya, that Harihara I was sent from Delhi by the Sultan to rule the kingdom of Ānegundi as his deputy. He appears to have been nominally dependent upon the Sultan until 1346, when, taking advantage of the general unrest prevailing in the Deccan, he asserted his independence.

'Speaking of the year A.H. 744 which lasted from May 26. A.D. 1343 to May 15. 1344,'⁶ Ferishta says, 'Krishn Naig the son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Wurungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Raja of Carnatic, and told him that he had heard the Muhammadans who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindus, and that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them.' 'Bilāla Dew convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and, resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then remove the seat of his government among the mountains.' 'Bilāl Dew accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called after his son, Beeja to which the word nuggar or city, was added, so that it was known by the name of Beejanuggar.'⁷

The 'Bilāl Dew' whom Krishna Nāyaka of Warrangal visited in 1343-1344 for the purpose of inducing him to join a rebellion of all the Hindus of the South against the Muhammadans could not be Baḷḷāla III. We know from the inscriptions that Baḷḷāla III was in the extreme south of the Peninsula fighting with the Sultans of Madura. He was killed in 'the capture of Beribi smiting the Turuka army' on the 8th September 1342.'⁸ Ibn Batūta who was in South India about this time tells us that Baḷḷāla was 'taken prisoner, and treated with apparent consideration; and whilst under promise of eventual release, all his riches were extorted from him. He was then

¹ E.C. X. Ml. 61.

² E. C. VI. Sg. 1.

³ SEWELL: *The Forgotten Empire*, p. 29.

⁴ BRIGGS *Ferishta* I, p. 373.

⁵ E.C. Br. 120.

⁶ Mys. Arch. Rep. 1916.

⁷ E. C. VI. Kd. 75.

murdered . . . ' ¹ Baḷḷāla III was dead at least some six months before the date of Kṛishṇa Nāyak's arrival in the south. Therefore, the reigning Hoyasala king at the time of his arrival, was Baḷḷāla IV. And he is only known by a single inscription of 1343. As we have already noted, his reign lasted only for a short period; and his power was not very great. The Hoyasala territory passed into the hands of the king of Vijayanagar in 1344. It is highly improbable that Kṛishṇa Nāyak went to Baḷḷāla IV who had little or no power, ignoring the mighty king of Vijayanagar to help him in his projected scheme of expelling the Muhammadans from the south. We learn from the early Vijayanagar inscriptions that about this time Harihara, Bukka, and their famous preceptor Vidyāraṇya were engaged in building the city of Vijayanagar. It is very probable, therefore, that the monarch whom Kṛishṇa Nāyak visited in 1343-44 was Harihara I, the founder of the empire of Vijayanagar, and not Baḷḷāla III, who died in 1342.

Harihara I, after transferring the seat of his government from Ānegundi to the new city of Vijayanagar joined Kṛishṇa Nāyak, and they succeeded in overthrowing the authority of the Muhammadans in the south. The general unrest and the rebellious attitude of the Deccani Mussalmans against the Sultan helped the Hindus considerably in achieving success. It appears from the writings of Barni that the rebellions at Warrangal and Kampili were connected. He says, 'while this was going on a revolt broke out among the Hindus of Arangal (Warrangal). Kānyā Nāik (Kṛishṇa Nāyak) had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbūl, the *nāib-Wazīr*, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kānyā Nāik whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampili) . . . stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala (Kampili) was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus.' ²

These events must have taken place between A.D. 1343 and 1346. The meeting of Harihara I, his brothers, relations, and officers at Srīngēri in 1346 was intended not only to celebrate the victory over the Hoyasalas but also over the Muhammadans. The celebration of the festival of victory must be regarded as the formal declaration of independence by Harihara I and his brothers.

¹ *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*. P. 239.

² ELIOT AND DOWSON III, p. 247.

APPENDIX A (i)

The Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya. (Mckenzie Mss. 23-1-12.)

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे काले कुरुवंशप्रसूतजम्	
कोशागारप्रतो हारौ वीर रुद्रमहोपतेः	1
सुरत्वाणेन निर्जित्य वीररुद्रेधृते तदा	
रामनाथं सि षे वाते राजानं कोशपालने	2
तस्मिन्नपि हते पश्चात् भ्रातरीतु यशस्विनी	
ज्येष्ठो हरिहरोनाम कनिष्ठो बुक्कसंज्ञकः	3
सुरत्वाण भटैर्नीती वीरै लक्ष्मण लक्षितौ	
रात्रौसाशनि पर्जन्य मेघघोषनिराकुलौ	4
द्वारभित्तिः समापत्तो सुरत्वाणेननिर्वने	
प्रातर्दृष्ट्वा भटैर्नीती सुरत्वाणोऽतिहर्षितः	5
गृहीती भ्रातरो ज्ञात्वा सयसन्धौ ततः सुधोः	
तयौस्सैन्ये कर्णाटं देशंदत्वा विसृष्टवान्	6
तेनाज्ञप्तीतुनी वीरौ हर्षेण सहितौ तदा	
उडुपेन समुत्तोर्य कृष्णवेणो समागतौ	7
बहुल क्षितिपालेन युद्धं कृत्वा पराक्षि(जि)तौ	
वनमध्ये परिश्रान्ती वृक्षमूलमुपासितौ	8
भ्रातरंके परिश्रान्तः सुप्तवान् हर्षणं तदा	
एतस्मिन्नन्तरेतत्त योगोरेवणसंज्ञकः	9
सिद्धोलिङ्गं समादाय चन्द्रमौलीस्वरंतदा	
लिङ्गप्रदत्तवान् स्वप्ने महोशस्य महात्मनः	10
इतःपरजयोनित्य मृत्तरोत्तरवर्धनम्	
भविष्यद्विलादेवा विद्यारण्यस्य दर्शनम्	11
सिंहासनाधिपत्यं ते भविष्यति नसंशयः	
तयस्त्रिं शद्व्यतोतेषु तदास्याद्विष्णुराजसु	12
ततः शिवगणौ कोचित् शैवपुत्रौ भविष्यतः	
तयोः पुत्रौ वीरनाम वसन्ताक्ष्यौ भविष्यति	13
एताव दक्त्वा वचनं तत्रैवं तरधोयत	

दृष्ट्वास्त्रं प्रबुद्धोऽथ भ्रात्रे सर्वं न्यवेदयत्	14
ततः परमसंहृष्टो भ्रातरौ तु यशस्विनौ	
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निवासन्तो कदाचित्ती मृगयागमनोत्सुकौ ॥	

(ii)

The Vidyāranya Kālaṅghāna. (Mackenzie Mss. (19-1-14) P. 45.

कोशागारप्रतोहारौ बोरषद्रमहीपतेः ॥	8 ॥
आगतौ यवनाक्रान्तौ असहायो सिलापुरात् ।	
रामनाथं सिषेवाते राजानं कोशपालने ॥	9 ॥
साम्राज्यलक्षणहितौ महोरस्कौ महाभुजौ ।	
आह्वेती (तं) नृपं हत्वा महान्वेषरयोधनेः *॥	10 ॥
गृत्वा तौ सुरत्वाणभटैर्नीतौ नितांपुरिम् ।	
सुरत्वाणगृहोतीता वेकदा दिवसात्यये ॥	11 ॥
निशोधेवृष्टिपातादि मेघघोषसमाकुले ।	
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* Is this Mahāndhēsvara whose soldiers killed Rāmanātha, the same as Sultan Muhammad ?

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